

Monday February 19 1996

Albania L 250
Andorra FF 10
Australia A\$ 9
Austria S 13.50
Belgium B 10
Brazil R 17.00
Canada C 12.50
Czech Republic KC45
Denmark D 15
Finland F 11
France FF 11
Germany DM 3.50
Greece D 250
Hong Kong HK\$ 25
Hungary H 100
Iceland IK 185
India R 100
Israel NIS 9.80
Italy L 3,000
Japan Y 110.00
Korea W 1,000
Kuwait KD 2.50
Labrador L 1,000
Lithuania L 1,000
Luxembourg L 5
Malta M 1.45
Mexico M 15
Netherlands G 4.00
New Zealand NZ\$ 1.80
Norway N 110
Pakistan R 70
Poland Z 20
Portugal E 200
Romania R 1,000
Russia R 100
Saudi Arabia R 10
Singapore S 1.20
Slovakia S 1.20
Slovenia S 1.20
Spain P 225
Sweden S 15
Switzerland SF 3
Taiwan T 17.50
Thailand B 50
Turkey T 100.000
USA US\$ 2.75
Zimbabwe Z\$ 77.00

The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

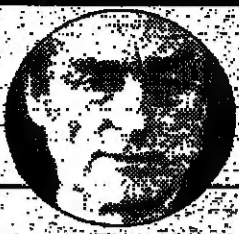
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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46,479

Ian Katz on the world's raciest publisher

Big Random, Little Random

Guardian 2 with European weather



Media

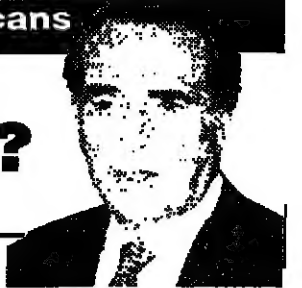
A state of mind

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Martin Walker on the new Republicans

Mean old man or bland blancmange?

Profile G2 pages 4/5



Shephard calls in 'fixer'

Huge inquiry into university crisis

John Carvel Education Editor

MINISTERS have turned in desperation to Sir Ron Dearling, the educational troubleshooter who saved them from catastrophe over testing in schools, to find a way out of a deepening crisis in the universities which is threatening to destroy Britain's international reputation for academic excellence.

retary, will appoint him this week to conduct the most fundamental review of the purpose, size and funding of British higher education since the Robbins report triggered a huge rise in student numbers more than 30 years ago.

assessment Authority, brought peace to the classroom in 1994 when the teachers agreed to lift their boycott of tests in return for a streamlining of the burdensome curriculum introduced by the former education secretary, John Patten. He was then brought in to tackle another "impossible" Government problem - how to reform qualifications for 16 to 19-year-olds to boost respect for vocational courses without devaluing A levels.

gain agreement in Whitehall on a clear response to the vice-chancellors' idea for gaining extra resources for education without increasing the burden on taxpayers. They want students to repay a larger share of the cost of a university education through a supplementary rate of national insurance.

being accused of inventing a new tax on learning. Other options are expected to include shortening the length of a degree course, halting the expansion in student numbers, and increasing use of distance learning techniques to move away from the traditional (expensive) pattern of college and campus life.

tion to national life. Ministers will say they cannot decide questions about student numbers and funding without a framework of what higher education is for.



The Guardian 'splash' that broke the Omarska story in 1992

Doctors ran death camps

Ed Vulliamy speaks to those behind the horrors inflicted on Bosnian Muslims

camp while living in atrocious conditions. Dr Milan Kovacevic, the former vice-president of Prijedor, by profession an anaesthetist, was responsible for the day-to-day administration of Omarska. When the international media descended on Omarska in 1992, he justified the camp by saying that it was "a collection centre".

'Mean' class squeeze, page 4

Major plan to protect Waldegrave

Patrick Wintour and Richard Norton-Taylor

JOHN Major will hold a vote of confidence next week to salvage the careers of William Waldegrave and Sir Nicholas Lyell if Labour engineers a Commons defeat on the Scott Report.

GMTV's Sunday programme. "It is not enough to hang your defence on a couple of rather friendly phrases when the burden of the report presents a very, very dismal picture."

However, the Labour Chief Whip, Donald Dewar, said yesterday Labour will break precedent and force a vote on the adjournment.

The Ulster Unionists will decide their position on Wednesday.

The Home Secretary, Michael Howard, said yesterday the Government was not contemplating defeat on Monday, but senior ministers are urging Mr Major in the event of defeat to table a confidence debate to protect Mr Waldegrave, the Chief Secretary to the Treasury, and Sir Nicholas, the Attorney-General.

Labour and the Liberal Democrats said Mr Major's reputation for integrity has been badly damaged by his handling of the report's publication, a counter-productive strategy that had limited damage in the short-term, but was rebounding as the report's withering criticisms of the Government emerged.

Tory backbencher Richard Shepherd said yesterday the inevitable conclusion of the Scott Report was that Mr Waldegrave and Sir Nicholas should resign.

The Opposition plans to maximise the pressure before Monday, Peter Mandelson, the shadow civil service minister, yesterday wrote to Sir Richard claiming David Willetts, the junior public services minister, abused his position when he was given an early copy of the report "to turn its publication into a squalid party political exercise".



It's Bad... London's air pollution proved too much for pop star Michael Jackson's rebuilt nose yesterday as he returned from a trip to a toy shop to his London hotel. He is due to perform at the Brit awards today. PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

Tug struggles to stop stranded oil tanker breaking up

Owen Bowcott

CRUDE oil was still spilling out of the ruptured hull of the deserted supertanker, where salvage crews could only work on its slippery decks during daylight hours.

Empress grounded itself for a second time. The emergency services were forced to evacuate villagers from St Ann's Head and Angle, on either side of the estuary, an RAF Sea King helicopter the Russian crew off the vessel, leaving it unmanned overnight.

powerful Chinese tug, De Yue, with its 20,000 horsepower engines being able to hold it in winds expected to reach gale force nine once again.

Lighter winds are not expected in the area until at least Thursday. "Everything at sea is weather-dependent," said Joe Small, leader of the marine pollution control unit's rescue operation.

has seeped out into the sea is still unknown. At least 6,000 tonnes is believed to have spread along the Pembrokeshire coast, covering beaches and rocks in black slime.

remained clean. Detergents to disperse the oil were sprayed over slicks further to the west, but Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food officials advised that the chemicals should not be sprayed near sensitive environmental sites for fear of damaging plant life.

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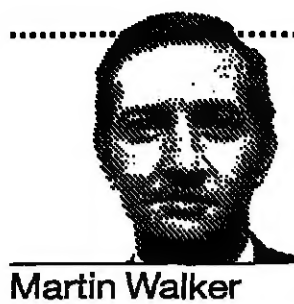
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THE WRITING SCHOOL BE A WRITER Make money writing and earn while you learn

Washington sketch

Shivering Bill's chilly thrills

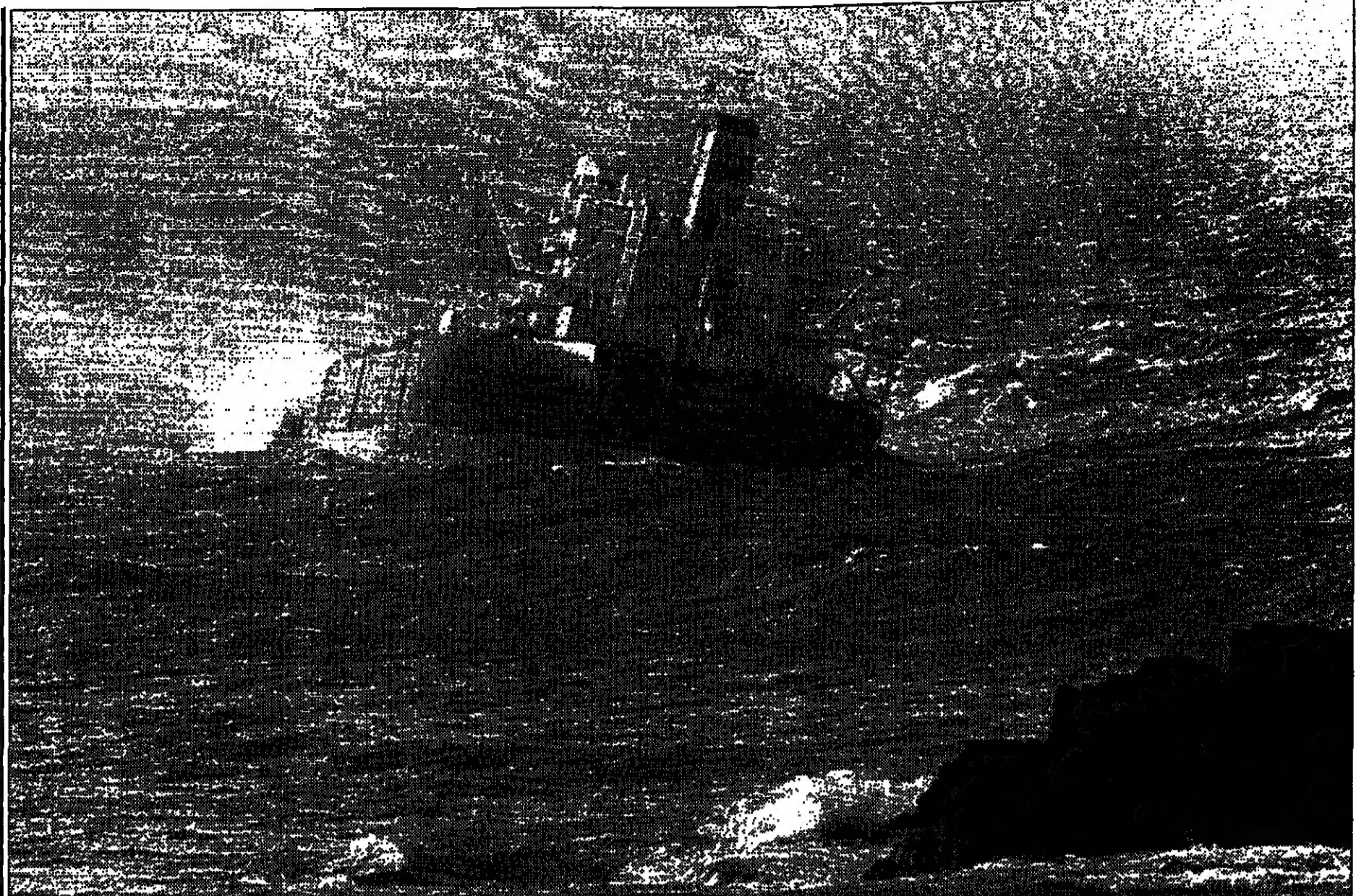


Martin Walker

THE FROZEN breeze that snatched at President Clinton's speech came straight from Quebec's icy north to give a wind chill factor of 40 below. "If you vote for me, I won't solve all the problems," he yelled to the crowd in the central square in Keene, New Hampshire. "I won't give you a miracle. But I will give you movement." And sulking the action to the words, he danced up and down on the spot to keep warm. Bareheaded and without gloves, his ears turning brick-red and his hands going visibly blue, Bill Clinton was kept going only by the fire of his own rhetoric. "We can't give him a woolly hat, it will look ridiculous. The cartoonists would never forget it," said one aide, huddled dangerously close to the press corps for warmth. "What about a Russian fur hat?" said another, eyeing the Guardian's genuine Siberian headgear with envy. "Can we get him a Yeltsin hat? They look presidential." "A foreign-looking hat in an election year? Are you crazy?" grunted a third, wrapped in scarf and woolly comforter like a refugee from a ski slope. "Maybe just some gloves and ear muffs." Delayed for two hours by the blizzard that closed the region's airport, Mr Clinton flew into New Hampshire to steal the Republican thunder on the eve of their bitterly divisive primary. "I am grateful beyond words for the chance you gave me in New Hampshire four years ago, when everybody who was an expert said it was over," he told the crowd of more than 10,000 people who had waited in the open air. It was just up the road in Dover's Elks Hall in 1992, his campaign buffeted by one scandal on the Vietnam draft and another from Genifer

Flowers, that Mr Clinton had howled into the night: "You stick with me, New Hampshire, and I'll be with you till the last dog dies." It probably expired of cold, the poor beast. (One White House staffer was now offering \$0 bucks, cash, for the Guardian's fur hat.) "And now I say it again, we have to stick together till the last dog dies," the president was bellowing, jets of steam issuing from his mouth. "I stuck with you, I told you I'd create 5 million new jobs, that I'd bring jobs to New Hampshire. And I did that." "But I do not want you to reelect me based on what we have done. I want you to do it because the only way that you and your children and your community and your state are going to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow is if we do it together." Even in his heavy cashmere overcoat, Mr Clinton was shivering pitifully as he spoke. Four years earlier, on almost as cold a New Hampshire day, he had called it "colder than a Republican's heart". He didn't dare say that this time. He was surrounded by a new organisation, Republicans for Clinton.

Led by the former chairman of the state Republican Party, Bert Teague, a state senator, Susan McLane, and her husband Laleolm — a former mayor of Concord, the state capital — Republicans for Clinton pointed to the splits in their party's ranks. They led the applause that greeted almost every presidential phrase, as people took every chance to clap their frozen hands together. Running unopposed by any serious Democrat, Mr Clinton is leaving nothing to chance. His impressive party organisation turned out 50,000 supporters to cast a possible vote for him in the Iowa caucus. A full-time staff is doing the same in New Hampshire, and delivering extraordinary crowds. They are hardly enough to defy the cold, and happy to cheer themselves warm. Almost all the candidates have made him "the Comeback Kid" four years before. By now the offer for the Guardian's hat was up to \$100. Domestic war, page 7; Profile, G2 page 4



The Sea Empress, listing to starboard with its bow submerged, drifting across the entrance of the Milford Haven estuary yesterday.

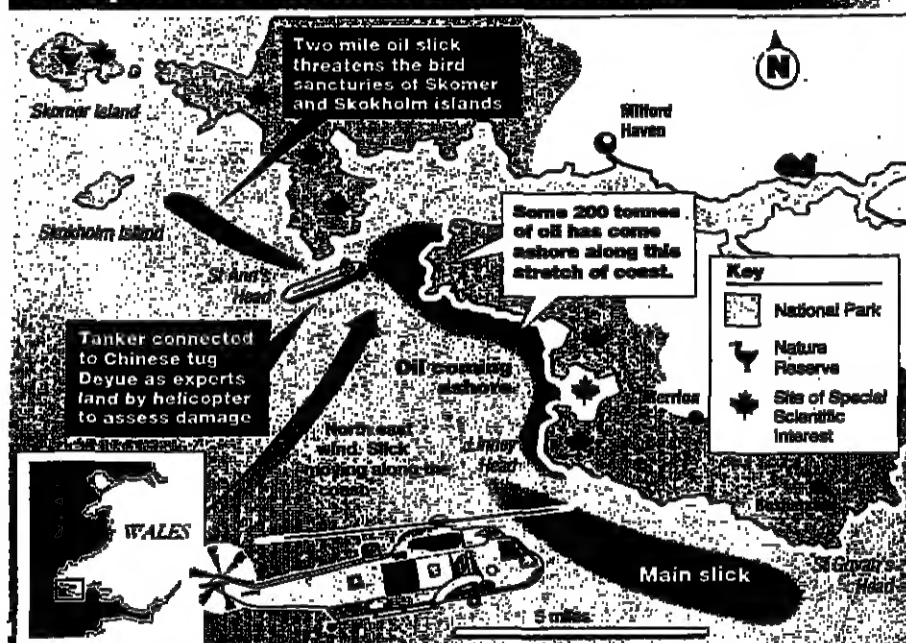
PHOTOGRAPH: PHIL REES

Hazards that defeated sea heroine

John Ezard poses key questions for the Sea Empress accident inquiry

SIX months ago, the Sea Empress was the heroine of the shipping world. "In heavy weather it is not the easiest thing to drive a 140,000-tonne tanker about like a lifeboat," wrote the shipping paper, Lloyd's List. "But this appears to be well within the capability of the Empress."

Oil spill threatens bird sanctuaries



Two mile oil slick threatens the bird sanctuaries of Skomer and Skokholm islands. A tanker connected to Chinese tug Deyuze was escorted by helicopter to assess damage. The vessel proved less nimble in coping with the two mile-wide entrance to Milford Haven bay last Thursday. The deep-water harbour was chosen for an oil refinery 30 years ago with super-tankers in mind. But then the limit was expected to be 100,000 tonnes. For modern tankers the entrance is notoriously difficult in bad weather. With a windblown westerly swell and powerful cross currents. "For a seafarer in a big tanker, that entrance is narrow," Tony Lane, a leading maritime scholar at Liverpool University, said last night. "Timing and your positioning of the ship are crucial."

Weather hampers struggle to prevent stranded oil tanker from breaking up

continued from page 1 more oil was moving towards Freshwater Bay and Angle Bay in the Milford Haven estuary. "At the moment we are not describing it as an ecological disaster. I think that is a bit speculative," he added. The salvage plan is still to secure the ship and eventually pump its remaining cargo of crude oil into smaller tankers brought alongside the Sea Empress so that the vessel can be refloated and pulled into port. A team of five salvage experts was helicoptered on to the ship yesterday and spent the day preparing to attach new towlines. The ship's engines are understood to be in working order but several anchors snapped on Saturday night at the height of the storm. The cause of the grounding, the second in almost exactly the same position in the last five months, remained a mystery yesterday. There was some speculation that the vessel did not have sufficient momentum or steerage for the

rudder to turn it into the 1,000-metre wide entrance of the estuary. Nick Ainger, Labour MP for Pembroke, yesterday called for a full inquiry into the accident along the lines of that conducted by Lord Donaldson into the Braer tanker disaster in the Shetlands three years ago. "I have no criticism of the way the salvage operation has gone," he said. "I am concerned, though, about the approach of the shipping minister, who has said that there will be no far-ranging inquiry. That's totally unacceptable." The Port Authority should send tugs out for escort-towing of large ships before they enter the estuary on a regular basis, he said. Flight-Lieutenant Simon Williams, who piloted the Sea King helicopter which lifted 43 people off the Sea Empress on Saturday night, said yesterday: "Conditions for the fishermen were pretty hairy. The combination of oil and spray on the deck made it extremely slippery." Residents said there had been a constant stream of sightseers trying to view the troubled tanker, despite police attempts to seal off the area. Because of the petroleum vapours, police advised local residents with breathing difficulties to remain indoors.

First night

Home-fired films' winter of content

Derek Malcolm

Richard III

THE Berlin Festival, the first of the three major European film events of the year, is so stuffed full of Oscar-nominated movies this year that it can only reinforce the conclusion that the English-speaking cinema rules, OK, and the rest are practically nowhere. The opener was Sense and Sensibility, with Emma Thompson, its writer and star, given a reception only Lady Di could emulate. Richard III and Restoration followed yesterday, suggesting the Brits can hold their heads high in American company at the moment. Richard III is based on Richard Eyre's 1989 National Theatre production, which transports the hunchback king into the 1930s and virtually equates him with Hitler. If the latest film of Othello was formed by its director an erotic thriller, Ian McKellen, who stars as Richard, says this version of Shakespeare could simply have the message that parents should not reject their children. Be that as it may, Richard Loncraine's film takes on the aspect of another thriller, rattling along at a healthy pace, virtually ignoring the text for its first 15 minutes or so and, later on, using it even more sparingly than Oliver Parker's Othello. It has Richard wanting to swap his kingdom for a horse only when his tank breaks down in battle, wooing the woman whose husband has killed in front of his dead body in the mortuary, and delivering his winter of discontent monologue in the lavatory.

Startling stuff, but such is the pace and verve of the film that it looks likely to bring Shakespeare to a good many people, apparently like the director himself, who have avoided the bard in the theatre. The penalty is a certain shallowness, though McKellen's performance is remarkably three-dimensional. Almost for the first time on film, we see what nukes him a great stage actor, since he remains sympathetic as he manipulates a corrupt and alluring system which is in essence no worse than he is. His final confrontation with Maggie Smith's acid old Duchess of York does indeed suggest that her loathing of him is the cause of his determination to prove himself master of the work. But the psychological implications are not pressed too hard, and the film remains more of a bustling and ironic political parable than a study of personal evil. Its cast is international, with Kristin Scott-Thomas, Nigel Hawthorne, Jim Broadbent and Adrian Dunbar joined by Annette Bening and Robert Downey Jr from America. And although the result is sometimes uneven, Loncraine's film looks the opposite of a studied adaptation from the stage. It's a proper piece of cinema, colourfully mounted, graced by a very fine central performance and not unfaithful to Shakespeare's central concerns. A visiting American critic who had lectured a class of film students after seeing the film was a trifle surprised to be asked when Shakespeare wrote the screenplay which, though not much of an advertisement for American education, proves you can do a lot with the bard without destroying him utterly.

Police criticise climbers after nine rescued on Scottish hills

Erlend Clouston

POLICE yesterday criticised climbers after West Highland rescue teams saved nine people in four separate incidents. These included two men who were being treated in hospital at Fort William last

night after being caught in an avalanche near the top of Ben Nevis on Saturday evening. Electronics engineer Wayne Horsfall, from Marlow, Buckinghamshire, suffered serious back injuries after being hurled with four colleagues almost 800ft down the Number Two gully on the mountain's north-east face.

Dublin rules out internment

Plans to deal with full-scale violence underline pessimism on talks, writes David Sharrock

THE Irish government has ruled out the introduction of internment in the event of a full-scale resumption of violence by the IRA. It was learned yesterday. As pessimism deepens in Dublin over the prospect of getting the peace process back on track, a scenario in which loyalists attack the Irish capital in retaliation for IRA actions in Britain is being taken seriously. But internment, which has remained on the Irish statute books since the 1940s, is being ruled out. While the "main players" are known to the Garda and defence forces, security chiefs fear they do not have enough

information about "sleepers" who would carry on the violence. Secondly, it is believed that internment would not survive in an age where political actions are subjected to media scrutiny. In Britain, the Emergency Provisions Act, which allows for internment, is likely to complete its passage through the Commons today before going to the Lords. But British security chiefs accept that internment could not work if it was introduced by one jurisdiction alone. The last time it was used in Northern Ireland was in August 1971. It was carried out on the basis of outdated intelligence and boosted support for the Provisional IRA. Discussion of internment underlines the absence of any planned response to the breakdown of the ceasefire. Officials believe there is a fortnight at best in which to revive the peace process, and officials from both governments are trying to secure a summit between John Major and the Irish prime minister, John Bruton, before the end of the month. Dublin appears to believe the best hope lies in the staging "proximity talks" — in which all parties get together under one roof but not necessarily the same room — followed by Northern Ireland elections, but only on condition that they lead rapidly into all-party negotiations. The Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble will hear today from the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, whether they will meet in the margins of the next Anglo-Irish summit. Mr Trimble astonished some Unionists on Friday by meeting representatives of the fringe loyalist Progressive Unionist Party, apparently leaving the door open to a similar meeting with Sinn Fein, if its military wing resumes its ceasefire. Mr Bruton, meanwhile, seemed to signal a difference of emphasis in his approach to restarting the peace process. He said on the BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme: "The problem has not really got anything to do with the position of the British government. The British Government can facilitate an agreement, but it has to be made between two sets of Irish people."

Exposed: The Serb doctors who ran Bosnian camps of death

continued from page 1 was a terrible mistake. It was planned to have a camp for people, but not a concentration camp. ... I cannot explain the loss of control. You could call it collective madness." The Omarska site is now protected by guards who deny there was ever a camp there. Dr Kovacevic's boss, Milomir Stakic, was president of the local government for the Prijedor area in 1992. He is also a medical doctor, and is now director of the Prijedor day-care health centre. Though his conversation was monitored by a secret policeman, Dr Stakic explained that he had trained as a general practitioner, but that his specialisation in neuropsychiatry had been interrupted when he took political office in the heady days during the breakup of Yugoslavia. He had also practised as a physiotherapist. Dr Stakic only wished to talk about "the lack of medicines" in the town, however, and explained that he had gone into politics to advance the cause of private doctors of the formerly communist Yugoslavia. He insisted nervously that "what happened later I do not have anything to do with", after denying

that there was even a camp for Muslims at Omarska. Eventually Dr Stakic conceded that Muslims, whom he alleged were "caught with illegal weapons", were collected at camp. But while junior functionaries, guards and the on-site commander at Omarska have been indicted by The Hague war crimes tribunal, none of the senior camp administrators has made it on to the lists of the accused. Despite the possible threat of indictment, Dr Kovacevic was forthright in acknowledging his role in the establishment of Camp Omarska. "If someone acquitted me, saying that I was not a member of that collective madness, then I would have to admit that this was not true," he said. Dr Kovacevic invoked the only captive in The Hague to be indicted, Dusko Tadic, who has been charged with genocide and murder in Omarska. "We cannot all be the same, even within the madness. If Dusko Tadic did kill people and I did not, then it is not the same," Dr Kovacevic said. "However, if everything is fine in this hospital then clearly I am to be commended. If things go wrong in the hospital then I am guilty."

The Perfect Job

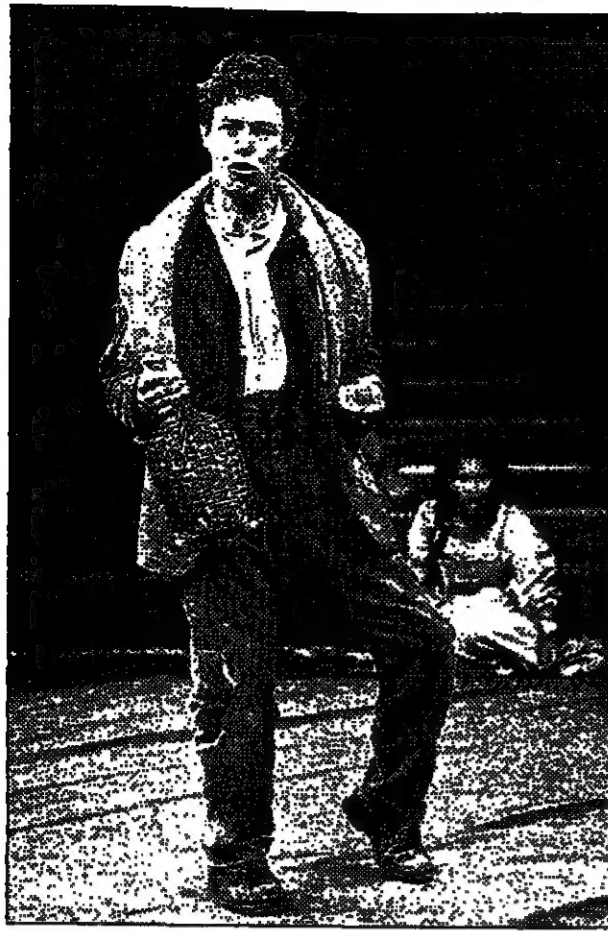
with an excellent income, too

Have you ever thought about the perfect job? For most people, it would be a job where they were paid handsomely for doing something that interested them, and which gave them the choice of where to work, who to work for, what hours to work and whether to work on their own or with a team of people reporting to them. You may think this is a mere pipe dream, something that doesn't and can't exist. But the perfect job does exist — it's consultancy. Not only does it exist, an increasing number of people are doing it and thriving. Consultancy is the fastest growing profession of our time and there seems to be no end to the scope and opportunities for consultants. Now you can take the knowledge you already have and set yourself up as a consultant in your own field with the help of a new comprehensive Course covering all aspects of becoming a successful consultant, including: Setting Up: Status — limited companies, partnerships, sole trader, Grants, Business Plans, Offices and equipment, Retainers and cancellation fees, Administration systems, VAT, Rules of survival. Marketing: Strategy, approach tactics, direct and indirect methods, networking. Brochures and covering letters, marketing. Getting Work: Size of clients, Your last employer, Getting appointments, Building rapport, Professionalism, Agreeing the task and the fee. Doing the Job: Time management, Where to work, Their staff, Project management techniques, Closing report — writing style, Getting paid. Producing Proposals: Format, Writing style, Whether to bid, Freebies. Presentations, Contracts. Expanding your Practice: More staff, premises, capital, franchising, peripheral expansion, Training, lectures, and seminars, merchandise sales. Writing: Articles, reports, newsletters and books, Mainstream publishers, agents, Proposals, outlines, and covering letters, Contracts, Mail-order publishers, Tips on non-fiction writing. Publishing Your Own Works: Pricing and selling, Tapes, Mail order sales, Sales letters, Ordering instructions, Advertisements. And much, much more including five essentials to success a consultant, useful addresses, project management forms checklist, spider diagram etc. This new Course is programmed to help you learn faster. It will teach you everything you need to know to establish and run your own successful independent consulting practice. Clear, straight forward, packed with solid information and advice, it can guide you into a highly rewarding and dignified career, turning your existing knowledge into a lucrative new venture. To order your copy of How To Succeed As A Consultant In Your Own Field send your name, address and Course title with payment (cheque or Visa/Access with expiry date) of £20 which includes postage and handling to Course Mail, Dept 9C, Aylesford, Mr Colchester, Essex, CO7 8AP or telephone their 24 hour order line on 01206 825600 (quoting reference 9C). Allow up to 14 days for delivery. You may return the Course any time within three months for a full refund if not satisfied.



Best actress Judi Dench And the best in a musical Judi Dench

سكس من الاجل



Best actor: Alex Jennings as Peer Gynt

Best actress - Judi Dench... And the best in a musical - Judi Dench

Sally Weale on a unique theatre double

ONE of Britain's leading actresses, Dame Judi Dench, made theatre history last night when she walked away with two prizes at the Laurence Olivier Awards. Winning is hardly a new experience for Dame Judi, whose mantlepiece must be crowded since she has already won the title best actress four times before. But in the 20-year history of the Olivier Awards it is the first time any single performer has scored a double, an event to leave London's

theatre world agog. Her first award, presented by Sir Cliff Richard, was for best actress in a musical, for her performance as Desirée Armfeldt in Stephen Sondheim's *A Little Night Music* at the Royal National Theatre. "I'm absolutely overwhelmed," said Dame Judi. "I am the original nonsinger." Later she pipped Dame Diana Rigg at the post to win the best actress award for her role as a Soho drinking club manageress



Best actress: Dame Judi Dench in *Absolute Hell* at the National

PHOTOGRAPHS: HENRIETTA PORTER, DOUGLAS JEFFREY

in Rodney Ackland's *Absolute Hell*, also at the RNT. "I don't believe it," the lip readers in the house spotted her saying. "I think it looks like greed myself," she later told an adoring audience. But it was just as well, as it turned out, for it emerged later that two of Dame Judi's earlier Olivier Awards, which she used as bookends, had been lost in a fire at her Hampstead home two years ago. Her previous awards were for her performances

in the Royal Shakespeare Company's *Macbeth* in 1977, *Juno and the Paycock* in 1980, *Pack of Lies* in 1983, and the RNT's *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1987. Among the other winners was Sam Mendes for his productions of Sondheim's *Company* and Tennessee Williams's *The Glass Menagerie* at the Donmar Warehouse. Named best actor was Alex Jennings for his performance in the RSC's production of Ibsen's *Peer Gynt*. Best actor in a musical

was Adrian Lester for *Company*, and the BBC award for Best Play went to David Hare's *Skylight* at the RNT. A special award for services to the theatre went to playwright Harold Pinter. It was a glittering evening at London's Grosvenor House Hotel with stars from theatre, dance and opera among the audience. Over the glasses of champagne and under the dimmed chandeliers, a couple of alternative awards might have been offered -

the most daring hairdo to a spiky peroxide Zoe Wannaker, who lost out in the best actress category to Dame Judi, and most outrageous dress to former East-Enders Anita Dobson, who turned heads with her flamenco-style ruffles. Dame Judi remained characteristically modest to the end. She divulged after the proceedings that she had offered to bet her daughter £50 that she would not win either of the awards she was up for.

Court blow to UK on child killers

Clare Dyer
Legal Correspondent

THE Government is expected to be dealt another blow this week by the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, when the court delivers a ruling restricting the Home Secretary's powers to lock up under-age killers for life.

The court is expected to rule that Home Secretary Michael Howard's power to decide release dates for young killers detained at Her Majesty's pleasure breaches the European Convention on Human Rights.

The judgment will force a change in the law, transferring the power to an independent body, and curbing the Home Secretary's power to decide when the killers of the toddler James Bulger are released. The case has been brought by Prem Singh and Abed Hussain, both in their 30s, who were convicted of murder in their teens and ordered to be detained at Her Majesty's pleasure - the child equivalent of a mandatory life sentence for murder.

In 1973, Singh, then aged 15, was convicted of murdering a 72-year-old woman who had befriended him. Hussain, then 16, was convicted in 1978 of the murder of his younger brother.

Singh was released on licence in 1990 but his licence was revoked and he was recalled to prison the following year after being arrested for deception and threatening behaviour. In 1994 the Parole Board recommended his release, but Mr Howard refused to accept the recommendation. Hussain was transferred to

an open prison in 1984 on the Parole Board's recommendation. In both cases, the "tariff" - the minimum term set by the Home Secretary, which a prisoner must serve for retribution and deterrence - had expired.

The Strasbourg court will tell the Home Secretary that decisions on the release of under-age killers must be taken by an independent court-like body. A likely model is the discretionary life panel, chaired by a judge, which decides when adults sentenced to life for crimes other than murder are set free. The Home Office was forced to set up the panels after a decision by the Strasbourg court in 1990.

This week's judgment, confirming a unanimous decision of the European Commission of Human Rights in 1994, will affect the fate of Jon Venables and Robert Thompson, convicted of killing two-year-old James Bulger in 1983, when both were aged 11. Their tariff was set at 15 years by the Home Secretary, after the trial judge recommended eight years and the Lord Chief Justice 10.

The ruling will not affect their tariff, but will restrict the Home Secretary's power to detain them after the tariff expires. They have lodged cases in Strasbourg and with the High Court in London, challenging the tariff.

A Home Office spokesman said: "Our position is that a sentence of detention at Her Majesty's pleasure is in all but name the same as a mandatory life sentence for murder. The court has already held that the Home Secretary's role in setting the tariff and deciding release for mandatory lifers is not in breach of the Human Rights Convention."

BA says ciao to valley pasta

WALES, Wales, sweet are thy pasta sauces - or at any rate sweeter than in Italy, according to British Airways, which has contracted a family from the valleys to supply dishes for its in-flight menus, writes Sarah Ryle. BA chefs trotted the globe to find pasta dishes to offer high-flyers. But no amount of Italian mamas with secret recipes could match Tim and Elna Clarke of Powys, who started out in a garden shed

10 years ago, and now run Zest Foods from a small factory in Newtown. Elna said: "We knew that passengers' taste buds are 30 per cent less effective in flight. It took us weeks of testing before we got it right." BA said the Clarkes won the contract because, unlike other competitors, they developed the sauces specially instead of putting up existing products usually headed for supermarket shelves.

The 1996 Laurence Olivier Awards winners

- Best actress: Judi Dench in *Absolute Hell* at the Royal National Theatre
- Best actress in a musical: Judi Dench in *A Little Night Music* at the RNT
- Best actor: Alex Jennings for the Royal Shakespeare Company production of *Peer Gynt* at the Young Vic
- Best actor in a musical: Adrian Lester for *Company* at the Donmar Warehouse
- BBC award for best play: David Hare's *Skylight* at the RNT
- Best director: Sam

- Mendes for *Company* and *The Glass Menagerie* at the Donmar Warehouse and Comedy Theatre
- Best new comedy: *Mojib* by Jez Butterworth at the Royal Court
- Best supporting performance: Simon Russell Beale for *Volpone* at the RNT
- Best supporting performance in a musical: Shelia Gish for *Company*
- Best choreographer: Dein Perry for *Tap Dogs* at the RNT
- Best set designer: John

- Napier for *Burning Blue* at The Haymarket
- Best lighting designer: David Hersy for *Burning Blue*
- Best costume designer: Anthony Ward for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the RSC's Barbican, *The Way Of The World* and *La Grande Magia* at the RNT
- Best new dance production: *Adventures In Motion Pictures' Swan Lake* at Sadler's Wells
- Outstanding achievement in dance: Siobhan

- Davies for *The Art Of Touch* at Sadler's Wells
- Best new opera production: *The Royal Opera's Billy Budd*
- Outstanding achievement in opera: Bernard Haitink for conducting the Royal Opera's *Siegfried and Gotterdammerung*
- The American Express award for best musical: *Jolson The Musical* by Francis Essex and Rob Bettinson at the Victoria Palace
- Special award: Harold Pinter for services to the theatre

Body is 'probably' missing girl

Sally Weale

POLICE yesterday contacted mountain rescue experts to help recover the naked body of a young woman, thought to be that of missing 18-year-old Louise Smith, which was found on the edge of a 100ft deep disused quarry.

The body, concealed in a "hide" of branches and trees, was examined at the scene by Home Office pathologist, Dr Hugh White. It was then expected to be removed for a post mortem.

Avon and Somerset police, who have been searching for Ms Smith since her disappearance in the early hours of Christmas Day, yesterday launched a murder inquiry, although the cause of death has yet to be disclosed. They have confirmed that the area around Barn Hill Quarry, at Chipping Sodbury

near Bristol, where the body was found, had formed part of the police search, but the operation had not been completed.

The body was discovered on Saturday by two schoolboys playing at the gravel pits which run alongside the half-mile long quarry. Concealed in undergrowth, it was decomposed and appeared to have been disturbed by foxes.

Because of the precarious location, police contacted a mountain rescue team, which normally comes to the aid of climbers at Cheddar Gorge and Avon Gorge, to provide ropes and safety harnesses to help recover the body.

Detective Superintendent John Newman said Ms Smith's parents, Robert, aged 49, and Gillian, aged 48, were being kept informed of developments. "We have told them there is a probability from the features of the find that this is their daughter, Louise."

Ms Smith, a clerical assistant from Chipping Sodbury, vanished after refusing an offer of a taxi ride home following a Christmas Eve disco at Spirals nightclub in Yate, just over a mile from the quarry.



Louise Smith disappeared after a Christmas Eve disco

Detectives have been working on the theory that she began the 10 minute walk home alone. They have questioned more than 2,000 people, including some 200 partygoers at the club that night, but police are still anxious to trace six men seen in the area between 1.20am and 2.50am on Christmas Day, whom they have urged to come forward so they can be eliminated from the inquiry. Mr Newman said: "We are now treating this as a murder

inquiry. We are appealing to anyone who saw anything suspicious at or near the quarry over the Christmas period to contact us.

"Somebody must know what happened to this young lady. Somebody may have come home in a distressed or upset condition, with their clothing perhaps dishevelled."

"I would ask those people if any of their loved ones came home in that sort of state to search their conscience and contact us."

Since Ms Smith's disappearance, her parents and her brother Richard, aged 20, who was also at the Christmas Eve disco, have been comforted by friends and relatives. Ms Smith's Christmas presents have remained unopened in her room.

Mr Smith, a delivery driver, last month joined 10,000 volunteers in a search of fields and common land but no trace of his daughter was found. The couple have also made a number of public appeals. His wife recently said she had not quite given up hope. "Most of the time I think she is still alive - but sometimes I don't."

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page 12

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Celtic man... Gil Heron, father of jazz guru Gil Scott Heron



Earning his Spurs... Walter Daniel Tall in action



So far but no further... Luther Blissett's hopes were dashed

Black soccer players go back more than 100 years, but few have become managers. John Duncan reports

FAMOUS FOOTBALLER KILLED - LIEUTENANT WALTER TALL - Formerly of Tottenham - Making the Supreme Sacrifice - The many friends of Lieut. Walter Tall, the famous Tottenham Hotspur and Northampton Town footballer, will be sad to hear of his death. He is reported to have died during the recent football season.

'Racism' bars way to top jobs in football

THE problems of racism in football are as bad as they ever were with black players facing an apparent colour bar in getting into management positions, according to a BBC radio series. "One of the most alarming things I found was that most black players do not believe they will see a black manager in the top flight in their lifetime," said Hepburn Harrison-Graham, the producer of Across the White Line, which starts tonight. "There have been a few lower down the leagues. Keith Alexander at Lin-

coln, Edwin Stein at Barnet for a while and Viv Anderson at Barnsley. But then you have Luther Blissett who has applied for 23 jobs and has not even got an interview. This is a man who has played for AC Milan and England. Black players have been allowed to emerge and develop but that's as far as they are going." The history of black footballers in England is longer than most people imagine. The first black player was Arthur Wharton the Preston North End goalkeeper as long ago as 1888. With a Grenadian father and Scot-

ish mother, he was also national sprint champion and the first athlete to complete 100 yards in under 10 seconds. His party-piece was to swing from the crossbars as the ball came over and pluck the ball out of the air with his feet. The first black outfield player in the English top flight was Walter Daniel Tall, who played for Tottenham Hotspur in 1909-10 for the first six games before being dropped after being racially abused at a match in Bristol. He soon moved to Northampton Town

under the famous Herbert Chapman, but after being decorated for heroism during the first world war he was killed in 1918 at the second battle of the Somme. Tall also had the distinction of being the first black player to sign for Glasgow Rangers, though he never got the chance to play for them before he died. Celtic's first black player Gil Heron, signed from the Chicago Maroons in 1951, was the father of the jazz-funk guru Gil Scott Heron. The problems faced through the century by black players are highlighted by the case of Jack

Leslie, who was selected to play for England in the early thirties, before the selectors found out he was black and withdrew the invitation. "The problem of racism and the national team remains, say the makers of the four-part series, which starts tonight. "How many black players currently play for England? Is there something going on there?" said Harrison-Graham. "Black players I have spoken to generally feel that England is not for them. There is a feeling more and more from the in-

'Mean' class squeeze

John Carvel Education Editor MINIMUM space requirements for classrooms are expected to be scrapped by the Government this week in a measure described by Labour as mean and short-sighted. Ministers will publish orders to remove the regulation obliging governors to provide adequate space when school buildings are planned. The rule, part of a move to give schools greater freedom to manage their own affairs, was due to be extended to existing premises this year, but will be replaced by non-statutory guidelines. "This mean and short-sighted measure will be a charter for over-crowded classrooms," said David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary. "Only two local

education authorities including the Tory flagship borough of Wandsworth in south London support the deregulation of statutory space requirements. It is clearly intended to avoid the need for investment in new facilities in the coming year to meet the needs of 86,000 extra pupils and the intended nursery voucher scheme which is being introduced without any extra investment in buildings or extensions." Under the 1961 School Premises Regulations, a minimum space of 2.91 square metres (25.89 sq ft) had to be provided inside school buildings for each pupil under the age of nine, rising to 4.69 square metres (46.16 sq ft) for pupils over 16. There were also minimum requirements for playgrounds. In a leaked letter in 1983, John Patten, the former education secretary, said a

review should decide "how to resolve the increasing difficulty of having minimum standards for which the costs of compliance go well beyond any realistic prospect of the capital expenditure which is likely to be made available". In a written answer last week, Cheryl Gillan, a junior education minister, said the department sent out 1,500 consultation papers but received only 119 replies. Several education authorities "supported the principle of non-statutory guidance... In particular East Sussex and Wandsworth positively welcome the proposed deregulation of statutory space requirements." Although many education authorities expect to be able to fund this month's teachers' pay award without laying off staff and increasing class sizes, there is anxiety about worsening pupil-teacher ratios in inner London.

Police shoot missing lynx

David Sharrock Ireland Correspondent NORTHERN Ireland has more than its share of dangers, but none more illogical than a legal loophole which led police to shoot dead a wild cat in the mid-Ulster countryside yesterday. If you want to keep a poodle or fancy a Maltese terrier as a pet then you must buy a licence if you live in the province. If on the other hand, your taste in domestic fauna stretches to lions or tigers, there is nothing to stop you setting up your own Longfast. For days there were sightings of what police believed was a young lion in the Fintona area of County Tyrone. Early yesterday the beast was finally tracked down to a field full of sheep. Police marksmen were called in and shot it dead.



Hunter hunted... lynx shot after search for 'young lion'

number who have been interviewed by police have denied having lost an animal. There are no controls on the keeping of dangerous wild animals in Northern Ireland. The Government has been under growing pressure to extend British legislation to the province and the Northern Ireland environment minister, Malcolm Moses, is said to be considering such a move. The Royal Ulster Constabulary said the situation was ridiculous. It was the second time in a few hours in which they had been called out to hunt for a wild animal. That safari ended when another large wild cat in the area which they thought people had mistaken for the lion, was also killed. Late last year parts of Fermanagh were terrorised for several days by the loss of a wolf by a private owner. It too was shot dead.

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Prison chiefs 'correct' private jail savings

THE PRISON Service has admitted having to correct a document which appeared to undermine government assertions that private prisons provided cheaper places than those in the public sector. Ministers trying to persuade governors that they can absorb a 13.3 per cent budget cut over three years have said that private prisons can hold prisoners for between 14 per cent and 26 per cent less than public sector jails. Unions fighting the cuts obtained a copy of the internal document, sent in December by the finance director Brian Landers to area managers and governors, and calculated that it showed there was virtually no cost difference. The Prison Service has said that figures on the cost of each place at a private prison were wrong and have since been corrected. The revised figures were "generally in line" with ministers' assertions that private prisons provided cheaper places, said the spokesman. Harry Fletcher, assistant general secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers, called for an independent inquiry. The corrected figures represented an effort to "shift the goalposts". The Government's claim is based on an unpublished report by the company the LEK Partnership comparing the cost of each place in 1993/4 at three private prisons and from the public sector. An analysis by the Prisons are not for Profit campaign, a joint effort by nine unions, of the original document from Mr Landers showed that the average figures for April to September 1995 were £8,810 for the state prisons and only a little less, £8,750, for the private sector.

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As row over Scott report rumbles on, Lang explains why Parliament was not told of changes to Iraq arms guidelines

Fear of criticism made Government keep silent



Richard Lowton, aged 79, regrets that public figures no longer 'do the decent thing'

Patrick Wintour, Chief Political Correspondent

FEAR of criticism was one of the reasons why the Government decided not to inform Parliament of its changes to guidelines on the sale of defence equipment to Iraq...

have been kept secret because of "the emotional way" in which public debates on Iraqi arms sales were conducted.

Mr Lang replied: "Well, that certainly was a component of it, but that is not an exclusive component. It was a very secondary component."



'A new American administration was taking office and there was anxiety about the reaction of the American administration if they did not understand the circumstances in which the guidelines were being altered'

— Ian Lang (left)

Rebel MP miffed, say true blue locals

David Ward finds stalwarts of Conservative Club 'corner group' sceptical of Peter Thurnham's reasons for rejecting his party



Peter Thurnham: worried about falling standards

THE debate in a corner of the games room of the Astley Bridge Conservative Club was almost as intense as the rivalry on the snooker table...

guided," he said. "He should keep quiet and toe the line until after the election."

Richard Norton-Taylor on guilt and innocence

'Contradictory conclusions' under attack

Richard Norton-Taylor on guilt and innocence

SIR Richard Scott's report into the arms-to-Iraq scandal is being widely criticised by MPs and commentators as diffuse, over-long, and contradictory.

The papers and Scott. A table showing whether ministers should resign based on newspaper editorials. Columns include Paper, Supported at 192 election, Were ministers at fault?, and Should ministers resign?.

Entertainments. A large section containing theatre listings for London, music extra, flight market, and other entertainment options.

Pictures of starved and abused captives in Serb camps (right) shocked the world early in the war.

Ed Vulliamy returns to Omarska, where in August 1992 he was the first newspaper journalist to report from the camp, and talks to the doctors who were in control



Horror hidden beneath ice and lies

BOSNIA The SECRET War

THREE years and seven months ago, the heat of the sun was impenitent as we stumbled into Camp Omarska, a place that defied history. Columns of Muslim prisoners emerged from a capacious rusty-red hangar and were marched across a yard into a canteen under the watchful eye of a beefy machine-gunner. Their skin was folded over their bones like parchment, their hollow eyes burned with fear.

"I do not want to tell any lies," said one emaciated figure, "but I cannot tell the truth." The truth unfolded in the days that followed: Omarska was a monastery; an inferno of murder, torture and rape. It was a stain upon our century.

It had taken five putrid summer days of 1992 to argue our way into that foul corner. Now the empty road is covered in ice at the turn-off for Omarska. Past the Cafe-Disko and the closed wooden church, through the village and over a humpback bridge across the railway track... and there, quite suddenly, is the sign — Omarska Mine — and the heart misses a beat. It is -7C but the shiver is not from cold.

Thick snow has overlaid what happened here. In the yard, children play with sledges. This tarmac was once a bloody killing field, the bodies loaded on to trucks by bulldozer. The installations themselves have become emblems of evil, the spiky iron tentacles of conveyor belts and machinery that link one shed to another are silent and skeletal like the inmates that were packed inside. Disused rusty boxcars litter the railway track. In 1992, this rolling stock was loaded with Muslim deportees on their way — if they survived the journey — to central Bosnia.

"Nothing happened here," says a bright-eyed 28-year-old who was employed as a technician in the mine and has stayed on with the security staff, now in military uniform. Iron ore was processed here, he says, until the end of 1992, so how can it have been any kind of camp in the August of that year? "There was a collection centre at Trnopolje down the road," he admits. "But here, nothing."

It would be impossible to tell that he is lying, he speaks with such frank, indeed amicable, self-assurance. "We are from Omarska, we would have known. There was no camp here at all. There was no camp — ever." His friend is only 24. "The Muslims funded the media," he explains, "and the television pictures were forged." "Anyone could do that," adds the 28-year-old, and he demonstrates how he would construct the montage, laughing.

The road to Omarska from Prijedor, the nearest town, is a comfortless sight, skirting the edges of Kozarac, razed into the dust of its own stone. Miles and miles of Muslim houses were already blown to pieces or incinerated when we drove this way in 1992. Nothing has changed, except that what is left is draped in snow. Why did the Muslims go?

The 28-year-old guard leans forward, open-eyed. "I really don't know why they left." His mystification appears utterly genuine. "We lived together like brothers. We married with them. And suddenly they left. It's like I packed my bags and disappeared one night." Then a simple question. Excuse me, but what are your names? The answer from the 28-year-old, suddenly harsh, is unexpected: "We had a nice chat. But names are secret. The Muslims know me and I know them. But they have to produce the evidence of what I did. They can come up to you in the street one day and zelek you to The Hague. This is how they work."

OUR visit to Omarska in 1992 was preceded by a torridous briefing at Prijedor, a centre by those who had established and administered the camp. The military commander, Colonel Vladimir Arsic, explained that Omarska was run by the police on behalf of the civil authorities — the president of the local authority and his deputy — who were duly introduced. These men, after much argument, took us to the mine. There we met the on-site commander of the camp, Zeljko Meakic, in mirror shades, who later became the first man to be indicted by the War Crimes Tribunal for

genocide. Eighteen of his guards and "shift commanders" have also been indicted. But none of those sitting round the table in Prijedor that morning — the people with authority over Camp Omarska, to the degree that they authorised our visit and physically took us there — have been indicted at The Hague.

The man responsible for the day-to-day administration of Camp Omarska was Dr Milan Kovacevic, an anaesthetist by profession. He was a bear of a man with a pale moustache and he told us there was nothing the world could teach the Serbs about concentration camps, since he had been born in one. Camp Jasenovac had been set up by the Croatian Nazi puppet regime for Serbs, Jews, gypsies and dissidents.

After our discovery of Omarska, when the media circus descended on Prijedor and the camp was hurriedly closed, Dr Kovacevic was assigned the task of explaining to the world's cameras what a "collection centre" was. His eyes were fiery with enthusiasm for what he called "a great moment in the history of Serbs".

TODAY they are still ruddy, but from some other, more introverted emotion, and no doubt from his taste for the homemade plum brandy he produces from his cupboard at 10am, it was a good year for plums, he explains, but the jam factories are all shut. Shame to let them go to waste. Dr Kovacevic, it turns out, is now director of Prijedor

hospital. He remains a proud nationalist. "The facts showed it necessary to destroy Bosnia. I wanted to make this Serb land. Without Muslims, yes. We cannot live together. I still hold that view."

What about the burned houses along the road? Was that necessary, or a moment of madness? Dr Kovacevic proceeds cautiously, accompanied by a second glass of brandy. "It was both things. The houses were burned at the beginning. And at the beginning, people were losing control. People weren't behaving normally."

This comes as a surprise. The Serbs in charge of what happened in 1992 do not usually talk like this. Was it all a terrible mistake? "To be sure it was a terrible mistake," he answers. A third glass, and

suddenly: "We know very well what happened at Auschwitz and Dachau, and we know very well how it started and how it was done. What we did was not the same as Auschwitz or Dachau, but it was a mistake. It was planned to have a camp for people, but not a concentration camp."

He has never had this conversation before, the anaesthetist says. But he plunges on. "Omarska," he tells us, "was planned as a reception centre." The idea was to take in families for their own protection. "But then it turned into something else. I cannot explain the loss of control. I don't think even the historians will find an explanation in the next 50 years. You could call it collective madness."

Dr Kovacevic made no attempt in 1992 to hide his role, but now, surely, he must. The Hague is a serious business. "Were you part of this collective madness, doctor, or outside it?"

There is no stopping him now. "If someone acquitted me, saying that I was not a member of that collective madness, then I would have to admit that this was not true. But then I would want to think about how much I was a part of it. It's a fact that I was a member of the municipal government for that year. But we cannot all be the same, even within the madness. Every man has his good side, and his bad side. Where he is is the important thing."

He returns constantly to his memories of Jasenovac. The difference between the two camps, he explains, is that in Omarska "there were not more than 100 killed, whereas Jasenovac was a killing factory". Only 100 killed at Omarska? "I said there were 100 killed, not died. About 100 was the number who were actually killed, not how many died. You will have to talk to the doctors about how many died. But later he throws off his caution: "Oh, I don't know how many were killed in there, God knows. It's a wind tunnel, this part of the world, the hurricane blowing to and fro..."

"Of course I think about my Muslim friends," he reflects, the brandy bottle now empty, the cigarette packet pensively crumpled in his huge fist. "Are they alright? Are they alive?"

DR KOVACEVIC'S boss in 1992 was the "president", or mayor, of Prijedor, Milomir Stakic. He was a building of a man who barked in clipped phrases. And he was introduced to us as he man endowed with the authority to grant, or refuse, access to Omarska.

He too turns out to be a medical man, now director of the local health centre. He is running for mayoral office again, as the candidate for Radovan Karadzic's SDS party. Dr Stakic meets us at his clinic, and introduces a man with a particularly menacing air, Viktor Kondic, whom he calls his "deputy" at the health centre.

What happened at Omarska? Mr Kondic intervenes quickly. "Omarska was a mine. An iron mine. That is all." The reports, the television pictures, Dr Stakic clarifies. "They were pictures of Serbian prisoners in Muslim camps. As a journalist, you have to come to the spot to know what you are talking about. [I bite my tongue.] No one was collected into the Omarska mine."

Then an immediate contradiction. "At Omarska," Dr Stakic elaborates, "there was an investigation process for only a particular number of Muslims. And once we had established a military prison, Omarska was the place only for Muslims found with illegal weapons." And it was not a concentration camp, he insists. "The Muslims in Omarska had food. Doctors. They didn't work. Omarska was not a hotel [he manages his only smile, and it is not a pleasant one] but it was not a concentration camp. Serbs only go to extremes when their freedom is threatened." He stares at us, with menace in his eyes.

Peace back on track

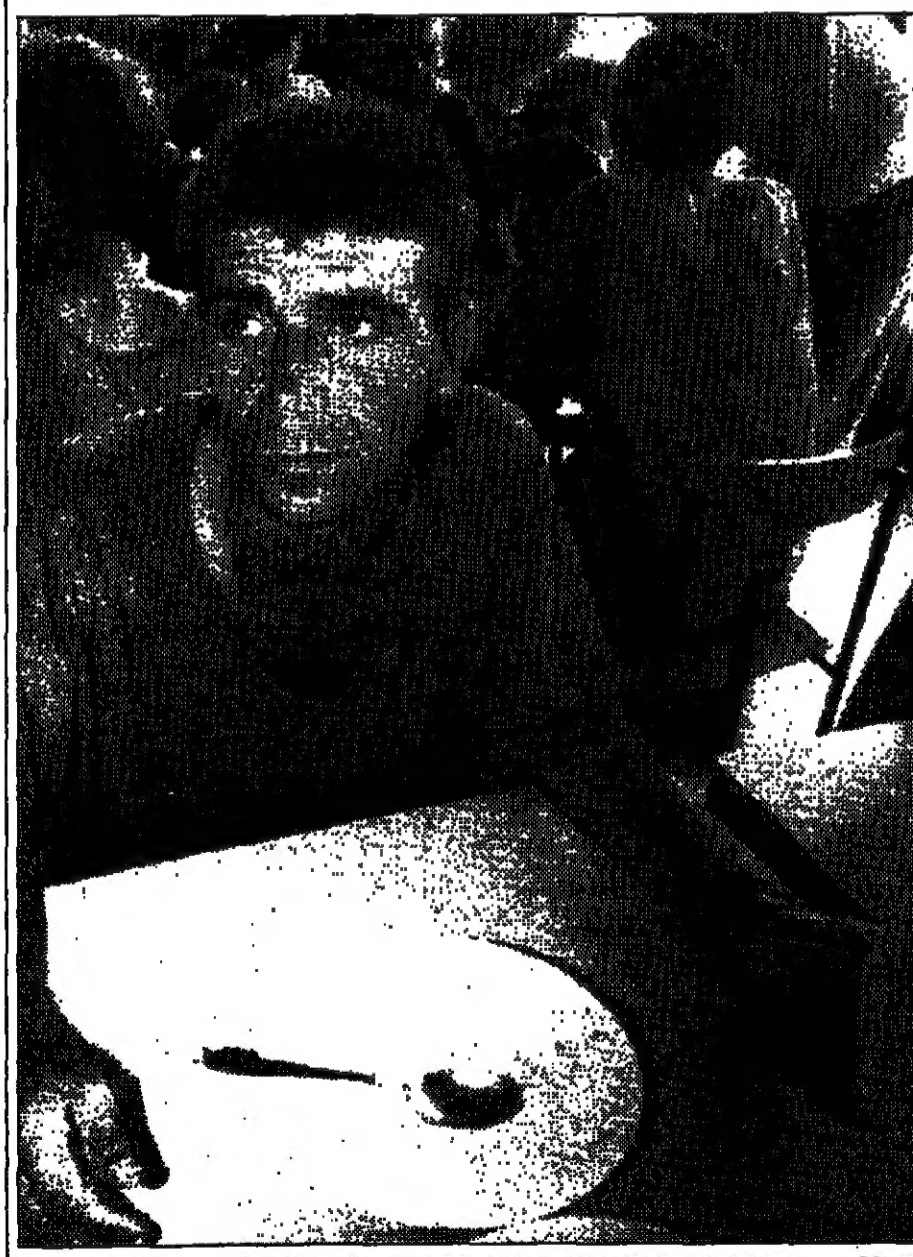
John Hooper in Rome

THE emergency summit to put the Bosnian peace process back on track was last night hailed as a comprehensive success by its organisers. Richard Holbrooke, the US assistant secretary of state and architect of the Dayton peace agreement, said: "In Rome, we have avoided a crisis by smoothing out and indeed, perhaps, eliminating some of those bumps in the road that we have encountered."

In two days of intensive and sometimes difficult negotiations, the presidents of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia reached these deals with international mediators:

- The re-establishment of links with the Bosnian Serbs. Links with the Implementation Force (IFOR) were cut after Bosnia's arrest of two Serb officers.
- An agreement on putting new life into the shaky Muslim-Croat federation.
- An agreement to remedy the divided Bosnian town of Mostar.
- A joint statement affirming the commitment to reunify Sarajevo.
- New, closer links between the Bosnian government and the Serbs at the highest level.

The parties also vowed to implement the Dayton provisions on war crimes cooperation. But Mr Holbrooke refused to say whether the Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, would hand over Bosnian Serb leaders wanted by The Hague tribunal. Their political leader, Radovan Karadzic, and army chief, General Ratko Mladic, have both been indicted. The first meeting at which the Bosnian Serbs will be represented is due to take place today — a session of the joint military commission. Mr Holbrooke indicated that economic sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs would be suspended if Nato decided they were complying with the peace agreement by the end of the week.



Meagre rations... A Muslim prisoner holds a piece of bread after finishing a meal in the Omarska detention camp near Prijedor in 1992

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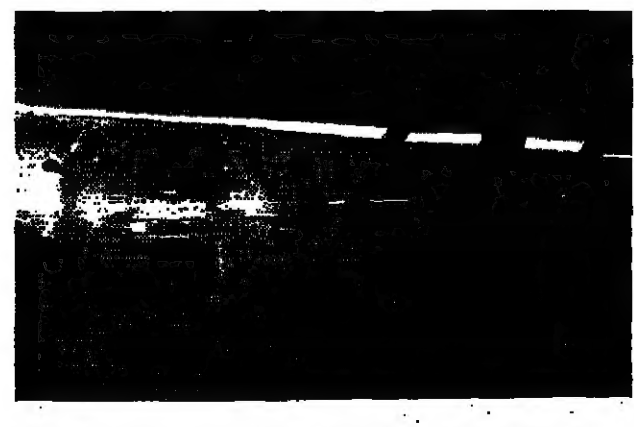
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Penalising trade with Iran and Libya could split allies Britain tries to halt US sanctions bill

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

BITAIN is waging a desperate diplomatic campaign to persuade the United States Congress to drop plans for sanctions against foreign companies trading with Libya and Iran, for fear of a full-blown transatlantic row if the legislation goes ahead, the Guardian has learned.

Foreign Office officials warn that the proposed law will lead to a rift between the US and the European Union, with Britain squeezed between the two, and undermine existing United Nations sanctions against Libya. "This is a disaster in the making," one official said.

"We are very worried by the damage it could do to our bilateral relationship," a US diplomat said. "Neither one of us wants to get into this, but the dynamics are pushing towards a collision."

The US legislation aims to punish Iran for allegedly supporting terrorism and developing nuclear weapons, and to pressure Libya into handing over two intelligence officers accused of the Lockerbie bombing in 1988.

It is expected to be passed within weeks unless British

lobbying, orchestrated from the highest levels of the Foreign Office, is successful. Prospects are said to be poor.

Direct talks between John Major and President Bill Clinton, and between the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, and the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, have so far failed to resolve the issue.

The Iranian bill, introduced last year by the Republican senator Alfonse D'Amato of New York, would penalise non-US companies trading with Iran by denying them loans. It could prohibit their imports to the US and exclude them from US government contracts.

Washington's policy of "dual containment" of Iraq and Iran has often brought conflict with the EU, which favours "critical dialogue" with Tehran. Britain is closer to the US position because of the unresolved Rushdie affair.

But the new law would worsen the transatlantic split. Other EU partners have protested to Washington, and Britain is especially concerned about the Libyan measures added by a Democratic senator, Edward Kennedy.

Mr Kennedy was responding to domestic pressure for tougher action against Libya, largely from families of victims of the Lockerbie disaster.

To the frustration of British diplomats, Clinton policy is being driven by the president's national security council rather than the more amenable state department.

The proposed Libyan sanctions could affect several big European oil and gas companies. British companies could also face US sanctions if they invest more than \$40 million (\$26 million) in the Libyan oil and gas industry.

Britain argues that by acting unilaterally against Libya, Washington will further weaken other countries' resolve to abide by the limited UN sanctions.

"Kennedy's move is going to be counter-productive," a key British official said. "Lockerbie is not an American preserve, and this is not something you play around with for domestic political reasons. Can you think of anything more bizarre than the US slapping sanctions on a British company?"

Britain fears that, in an election year, no US politician would wish to appear "soft" on Iran and Libya. US sources say Mr Clinton will not veto the legislation.

Iran has begun legal proceedings against the US to defuse its "plots" against Tehran, the foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, said.



Border protest... Hundreds of Israeli farmers block the road with burning tyres and tomatoes at the Nahal Oz checkpoint as they tried to storm into self-rule Gaza yesterday. They were demonstrating against the sale of relatively cheap Palestinian vegetables in Israel. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILVERMAN

British EU official quits under a cloud

Stephen Bates in Brussels

ONE of Britain's most senior officials with the European Commission in Brussels has resigned abruptly following allegations that he set up a private consultancy with a Russian businessman.

Michael Emerson, who returned to Brussels in January after five years as the EU's head of mission in Russia, admitted that he had been holding discussions about "professional opportunities" while in Moscow.

Mr Emerson's reputation as an economist of impeccable integrity took a further knock when it became clear that he had left his family to live with a Russian former employee of the EU's mission to Moscow, 15 years his junior.

Mrs Emerson said from the family flat in Brussels yesterday: "I can't believe what is being said. My husband is the most unworldly person. If I am not here he lives on packed soup. There is no one less interested in material rewards."

The resignation looks certain to provoke an investigation by the European parliament into the operation of the EU's embassies abroad.

Mr Emerson said: "I can confirm that I have been discussing some professional opportunities in the event I retired from the Commission after leaving Moscow. These discussions are not concluded... and have been of a normal preliminary character. I have in effect told the Commission that because I prefer to pursue an independent career, I intend to retire."

The Commission's anti-trust unit was called in to investigate Mr Emerson a fortnight ago after documents, including letters between him and a St Petersburg-based businessman called Ilye Baskin, were passed to officials.

It is understood that one written in Brussels last month, refers to "our consultancy company" and talks of dealing directly with Mr Baskin. Another, to the Moscow office of the accountants Coopers and Lybrand, suggests setting up a company in the republic of Kirghizia.

Mr Emerson refused to confirm reports that he was having an affair with Yelena Frokhorova, who used to work at the EU's mission in Moscow.

Domestic war goes public as Oregon couple contest seat

Jonathan Freedland in Concord, New Hampshire

WHILE most Americans are watching the Republican family feud in New Hampshire, the voters of Oregon are gripped by a domestic war much closer to home: the bitter contest between a husband and wife fighting each other for the same seat.

Thomas and Melinda Wilde are both candidates for the 8th district of the Oregon state senate. He is a Democrat, she a Republican, and the battle has already turned nasty.

From the house they share the political rivals devise attacks on each other and campaign literature to expose the flaws they know only too well.

"She knew nothing about politics before she met me and, frankly, I'm the better candidate," says Mr Wilde. "What's more, he adds, she doesn't do her share of the washing-up."

The duelling couple — the first to stage such contest in a US election — used to be on the same side. Until last month, he was her campaign manager. But they bickered about everything.

"It got way too personal, way too nasty," Mr Wilde says. So Mr Wilde, a house-husband aged 40, considered divorce. Eventually he chose the next best thing: a public battle at the polls.

"I was ticked off to lose my campaign manager," says Ms Wilde, a lawyer aged 35. "But my biggest concern was that he would take away my credibility, that people would think this is a joke."

Instead, voters have embraced the contest, marveling at the rival his-and-hers campaign signs on the Wildes' front lawn and licking their lips at the dirty tricks in store.

The pair insist they want to stay together. Do they still love each other? "Yeah, sure," Mr Wilde says. "But I didn't get into this to lose."

The couple could soon face each other in a televised debate. "I hope it's not like when we debate at home," Mr Wilde says. "We're kind of natural at going for each other's throat."

Profile, G2 page 4

Population of UK:	58,000,000
Number of TESSAs in UK:	5,000,000
Number of women called Tessa in UK:	25,032
Number of Tessas with TESSAs:	405
Number of Tessas sick of jokes about TESSAs:	45
Number of names for TESSA 2-accounts at Nationwide:	2

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THE SCOTT REPORT
Implications for
Parliamentary Government

One-day conference organised by the Hansard Society

To be held in Central London on Wednesday, 17 April

Speakers will include:

Vernon Bogdanor, Reader in Government, Oxford University
Dr David Butler, Chairman, The Hansard Society
Maurice Frankel, Director, Campaign for Freedom of Information
Peter Riddell, Assistant Editor (Politics), The Times
Liz Symons, General Secretary, FDA

To ensure that you are sent a final programme and booking form, please telephone 0171-317 7170 (24 hours)

At the end of the peer

Elect a new upper House

NOTHING in British politics so sharply defines the difference between Labour and the Conservatives as their respective attitudes to the House of Lords.

Conversely, however cautious Labour may be about uprooting the legacy of Conservative economic and industrial policy, or about chucking out Conservative restructuring of the welfare state and education, when it comes to the constitution Labour is genuinely ready for action.

In his Smith lecture Mr Blair committed himself to abolishing the political power of hereditary peers. The balance of party loyalty among the 300-plus hereditary peers is grossly biased in the Conservatives' favour, he argues, and there are no conceivable grounds for maintaining this system.

The central objection to Mr Blair's plans is not that they go too far but that they do not go far enough. The loss of the hereditary peers will leave some 200 life peers who take the various party whips, plus another 100 or so cross-benchers (who include the judges and the bishops) who take no whip.

Labour's shadow Home Secretary Jack Straw has recently countered this objection by saying that the proposed "one-line bill" to abolish hereditary voting rights has to be seen as part of a longer term project.

Mr Straw's elaborations are useful, and it would be churlish not to recognise that they contain important concessions to the need for checks and pluralism. But they do not dispose of the fear that Labour will find the temptation to reward its own chums irresistible, especially after the long years of opposition to a Conservative government which so shamelessly attempted to create its own one-party nomenklatura state.

Playing it blind

Time to get tougher in Angola

THE UN'S GRUDGING assent to extend its peacekeeping mission in Angola for another three months reflects a lukewarm commitment which is all too familiar. Like other countries which became surrogate battlefields of the cold war, Angola and its continuing problems have been shrugged aside.

A new Human Rights Watch report* is correct in recording that both sides have committed violations. New weaponry has reached the government in Luanda, especially from Russia and the Ukraine. Unita has stepped up its cross-border operations to bring in new weapons by land and air from Zaire and the Congo along routes developed in previous years by the CIA.

The root problem remains the legitimacy conferred by international actors — from the UN itself to UN aid agencies and the Secretary-General — upon the Unita leader Jonas Savimbi after he spurned the result of the 1992 elections. He has now slowed down even further his army's demobilisation while refusing to take up ministerial posts offered to Unita in the latest of many concessions.

THINGS AS THEY ARE: A USEFUL GUIDE.

Fig. 1: Utterly & completely truthful, upright, honourable & competent Ministers of the Crown.



Fig. 2: A Total Exoneration of H.M. Government.

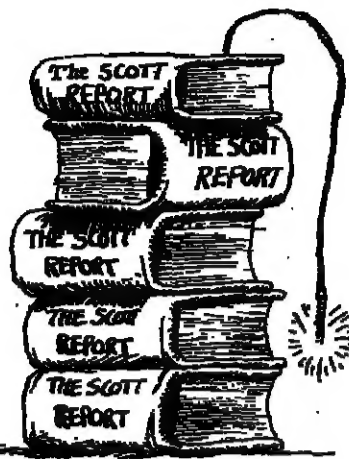


Fig. 3: Black.

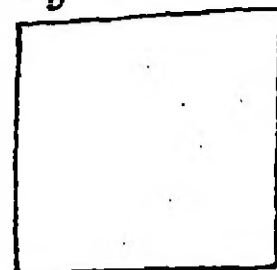


Fig. 4: White.



Mark Rowan

Letters to the Editor

Supergun turned on the Ministers

ONE of the points hammered home by Ministers was that only non-lethal equipment was sold to Iraq (Pressure mounts for Lyell and Waldegrave to resign, February 10). Leaving aside the relative non-lethality of the British-made prototype 300mm supergun, which was found, in Iraq, in an assembled and functional state by UN inspectors and subsequently blown up by them, does non-lethal status now extend to the Sterling sub-machine-guns shipped to Iraq via Jordan? I'm so pleased to learn that these fine examples of British engineering are officially non-lethal, because my four-year-old nephew would be delighted to receive one as a present.

ACCORDING to Richard Norton-Taylor's book, Truth Is A Difficult Concept, Michael Heseltine was asked: "Kenneth Clarke, the Home Secretary, Tristan Garel-Jones at the Foreign Office, and Malcolm Rifkin, the Defence Secretary, also signed PII certificates. Did they know you had signed a different certificate?" Heseltine replied: "They did — I just did not want them to be in a position where they discovered I had done this without being told."

WHY is it that when an intellectual and supposedly honourable man behaves mendaciously it is dismissed as sophistry whereas those of us who lack subtlely nerveless recognise that he is being party ples? John Thompson, 29 West Street, Newport NP9 4DD.

ALTHOUGH no policy change has been announced, it is understood that the guidelines have in practice been amended in that PII now stands for Party Interest Immunity Certificate. Let no one, public or party, be misled. Ken Woolman, 31 Valley Drive, Maidstone, Kent ME15 9TL.

A lot of rubbish is being talked in the big Wandsworth dust-up

I WAS surprised to see the statement by David Sullivan of ServiceTeam that "the [Wandsworth contract] is less making because productivity is so low" (Bins row sullies Labour plan, February 16).

THE bin men in Wandsworth have seen many contractors come and go since they were privatised in 1981. ServiceTeam's paranoid view that "they" set out to destroy the company from day one demonstrates the nature of this dispute. It also helps to explain why a company that professes to aim for "stakeholding" found itself at war with one of the biggest unions in the UK within a month of starting. From day one, ServiceTeam have agreed with the Tories that their mounting losses in Wandsworth must be due to a "dinosaur" and lazy workforce, rather than the underfunded council contract.

A novel cult

IN A recent interview, Dr Zahi Hawass, the Director General of the Giza Plateau, commented on my book, The Orion Mystery (Mandarin 1996) in this most engaging manner: "I tell my friends who are in New York, come to Giza, make a crazy theory about the pyramids, write a book, and you will become rich and famous." (Profits of doom, February 16).



Yours contentedly, Ludd

HENRY Porter's interesting piece (Life, BC [Before the age of the Computer], February 14) did not adequately convey the advantages computers have brought in the second half of this century.

Porter's imagined world should object to paying bills by post. Many of us still do in this day and age. I can see no advantage in the globalisation of currency markets which led to Black Wednesday, the equipment to run nuclear power stations, or being able to break the print unions and adding innumerable clerks and miners to the ranks of the unemployed.

Tit for Tate

IN AN attempt to whitewash the Tate's roots, curator Simon Wilson (Letter, February 15) writes: "The process of abolishing slavery was completed with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 which freed all slaves in British colonies. Henry Tate built his first sugar refinery in 1873."

A Country Diary

OLD WESTMORLAND: Looking south-east from heights above Kendal you see, stretched along the horizon, the long, dark spine of Gargareth with the table-top of Ingleborough just peeping over the right-hand edge and, in front, the sprawling bulk of Middleton Fell. I've never seen anybody on this curiously-neglected hill and we had it to ourselves, again, the other day although there was one line of foot-prints, trodden in, I estimated, the previous day. There was, though, one encounter — with a lost foxhound, no doubt from the Lunsdale pack, vainly coursing the hill and looking distinctly cold and hungry. She licked the line of a discarded snare sandwich but discarded the bread and seemed to enjoy the tomato soup; then she was off, bounding away up the snow with an energy belying her straggly ribs. Middleton Fell is a lousy trian-

gle of tilted grass and heather, more than five miles long, wedged between the Lune and the attractive trough of Barbondale, with a high, ridge that forms part of the boundary with the Yorkshire Dales national park. Its highest point, Calf Top, is just 1,559 feet above sea-level so that, perched on the cairn, you are over 2,000 feet up, but you can't include it in the two-thousanders of either Cumbria or Yorkshire. The best walk goes all round the rim, a 12-mile round, but the timing, soft snow slowed us down the other day so we turned west at Calf Top and wandered easily down the contours and back to Barbon, finishing the line of a discussed railway. Enjoying the fresh air and sunshine and well wrapped up against the bitingly-cold wind, we decided we had made the best choice for a short winter's day. A HARRY GRIFIN

Scott not guilty of bad grammar. Not

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

THE damage done to the English language by Sir Richard Scott's report on the sale of arms to Iraq was not, in my view, deliberate. He was not part of a conspiracy never to use a familiar word when an arcane or archaic expression could be employed in its place.

I attribute the difficulties to his legal education — all that Jarndice vs Jarndice stuff (Queen's Bench Division 1852) rather than a proper study of syntax and philology. But whatever made him caviller about the tongue that Shakespeare spoke, his near contempt for all that Fowler stands for is beyond question. When, on December 8, 1993, Margaret Thatcher concluded her evidence to his inquiry, she bade Sir Richard goodbye with an uncharacteristically gracious valediction. "I fear that there will be much grammar to be corrected," Lord Justice Scott, as he then was, replied with what at the time seemed to be a calculated mixture of reassurance and menace. "Never mind the grammar, that is the least of our problems". The alternative interpretations of his report have proved him wrong.

Grammar is the framework on which language is built. And language is the vehicle on which ideas are carried. If we are not careful about the direction which it takes, we are in danger of arriving at the wrong destination — as the Scott Report's comments on the conduct of Sir Nicholas Lyell illustrate. Considering the Attorney General's failure to notify the trial judge that Michael Heseltine had been reluctant to sign the Public Interest Immunity Certificate, Sir Richard observed, "I do not accept that he was not personally at fault." Little, the double negative, is said by the Oxford Dictionary to diminish or obscure meaning. What was wrong with the simple statement, "Lyell was wrong"?

Cynics may suspect that Sir Richard wanted to soften the blow — to criticise rather than condemn and to damage rather than destroy. There is, however, another explanation of his conduct — at once more honourable and more irritating. The double negative has him in thrall. His report concludes that the policy of arms sales to Iraq "did not remain unchanged". In other words it was changed. What strange linguistic inhibition prevented Sir Richard from saying so?

able for the Scott Report's disturbing inconsistencies. William Waldegrave — the man who wrote or at least signed, more than 30 misleading letters — was adjudged to have believed "without any duplicity of intention". If words have any value, that can only mean that he did not set out to deceive Parliament or public about the relaxation of the

would be wrong to relate all this semantic confusion to Alice in Wonderland. It is in Alice Through the Looking Glass that Humpty Dumpty says, "When I use a word, it means exactly what I want it to mean". Significantly, he said it in a haughty tone. We know that Sir Richard disapproved of his work being subject to philological analysis. Last Thursday, he told a press conference. "The report contains the words I chose to use and I am not going to have words put into my mouth. I am not going to engage in a philosophical discussion about the meaning of words." If he persists in that view, he will give credence to the suspicion that the ambiguities and the contradictions are intentional — perhaps even that one of the conflicting views was written before the criticised ministers saw the draft report and the other was added after they had made their plea for clemency. I prefer the alternative theory. Sir Richard was careless in the use of language, designedly but not in a duplicitous way.

The double negative has him in thrall

arms embargo. So what are we to make of paragraph D8-16? Parliament and public were designedly led to believe that a stricter policy towards non-lethal defence exports and double use exports to Iraq was being adopted than was, in fact, the case. It is difficult to absorb, at first glance, the meaning of so convoluted a sentence. But there is no doubt about the word "designedly". According to the Oxford

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom of the page.

Dhaka Diary

Suzanne Goldenberg

THESE are days of hunger and anticipation as the Bangladesh capital gets ready for its annual explosion of shopping and feasting. As soon as the crescent moon is sighted on the evening of February 20, Ramadan will be over, giving way to Eid-ul-Fitr and days of excess. After strikes and the languors of Ramadan, the city has come alive. Store fronts are draped with strings of coloured lights, and the shops stay open until midnight. But there is still too much to buy, and too little time. Normally decorous Bangladeshis elbow each other aside for auto rickshaws; once inside, their passengers disappear carrier bags. In smarter boutiques, brightly-coloured saris and cream-coloured moor and pajamas fly through the air, fought over by matrons and their weary spouses. Young men stare glumly at jewellery counters; girls fold impossibly expensive saris around their shoulders and look dreamily in the mirror. At the tailors' shops that line the old bazaar boys sit cross-legged on cushions, hunched over their sewing machines and men's shirts, making tiny stitches throughout the night to assemble the festive finery for this once-a-year blow-out. "This is more than Christmas," says Wahiduddin Mahmud, president of the Bangladesh Economic Association and a Dhaka University professor. Tradition demands that the holiday be celebrated with new clothes and visits to relations in the village, and it's no different in Bangladesh though it ranks among the dozen poorest countries in the world. About 60 million people — roughly half the population — are believed to live below the poverty line defined nowadays by calorie intake rather than income. Of these, about 30 million consume fewer than 1,800 calories a day, about the amount you would eat if you were trying to lose weight, and an impossibility given the intense fatality of the famine. Although Islamic law suggests a 2.5 per cent donation calculated on the basis of the family's income and property, in Bangladesh the devout go by the amount of jewellery their women have accumulated. Zakat still has a powerful moral effect on the rich. More people pay it than income tax, distributing largesse to poor relations, servants and employees, and the government has tried to cash in on their seasonal goodwill. Every year the government raises a zakat fund for the poor, collecting the money at the end of Ramadan gatherings which the elite have appropriated as a networking opportunity. The money goes on medicines and scholarships for children, free chickens for widows, and rickshaws to poor men. The fund is sadly low this year — only 900,000 taka (\$14,750) against 1.5 million taka (\$24,000) last year, a casualty of the political crisis that has left the government and opposition parties disinclined to socialise. Sadly, not all the money is finding its way to the people who need it most. Religious custom dictates that you first help out the people around you. "People won't go out and find a man starving on the street," says Mr Mahmud. Still, some of the benefits of a massive surge in spending — fuelled by a customary bonus of one-month's salary — do trickle down. "It definitely has a transfer effect. At least for the next month or two, poor people will be better off because of the income flow," Mr Mahmud says.

A union that man may put asunder

Commentary

John Gray

WE ARE nearing a turning point in Europe. The core of economic and monetary union (Emu) has always been the plan for a single currency, a plan that looks increasingly likely to founder. The consequences of such a failure are incalculable. Yet they are only a long shadow cast by irreparable flaws in Emu itself. The crux in European affairs shows Emu to be a project that belongs in the era before communism collapsed and Germany was unified. In the world into which we are moving, it is neither achievable nor desirable. As yet, opinion in Britain remains divided between Europhobic nationalists and backward-looking Euro-federalists. We have hardly begun to think

how to build European institutions after the single currency, and with it the prospect of a transnational European state. The key political fact is that a single currency has continent-wide deflationary consequences which cannot be democratically legitimated. In both of the countries that are most unwaveringly committed to integration support for a single currency is crumbling fast. In France, echoes of the strikes against the welfare cuts required under the budgetary terms for joining the single currency are resounding throughout political life. In Germany, both the Social Democrats, and powerful elements within the Christian Democrats, are responding to mounting public anxieties about the economic costs of Emu. Contrary to the claim Dr Genscher makes (below) that it is orientated towards the future, the project of a federal Europe is a creature of the past. It is incompatible with the goal of enlarging the EU to incorporate the states of post-communist Europe. It will be more urgent and problematic if the nationalists and communists gain ground in

the Russian presidential elections in June. In the post-cold-war environment of intensified global competition, it is more than doubtful if the deflationary policies, which are preconditions for the single currency, are sustainable even in the countries that are its core supporters. The likelihood must be that the project will run aground on these realities. British opinion is ill-prepared for these developments. Among pro-Europeans there is an inability to perceive that Emu's current difficulties arise from its inherently undemocratic character. They fail to grasp that, for its neoliberal supporters throughout continental Europe, it is the fact that Emu puts fiscal and monetary policy beyond any kind of political control that is its chief merit. All versions of Emu envisage an independent European central bank, modelled on the Bundesbank, whose constitution insulates it from political accountability. Moreover, the criteria of convergence for membership of Emu laid down in the Maastricht Treaty are the neoliberal norms of price stability and fiscal orthodoxy,

not the objective of full employment to which continental social democrats and Christian democracy have been in the past committed. The idea that the "democratic deficit" in European institutions can be filled, when the whole trend of European institutions over the past decade has been to remove economic policy from democratic accountability, is an illusion. It is ironic that British social democrats and one-nation Tories, who are staunch in their defence of the European cause against the xenophobes of the right, should fail to grasp that, at least since the Maastricht Treaty, European institutions have embodied not the ideals of Monnet but the new right vision of Hayek. The Government hopes that, if Emu fails, Europe will remain much as it is. Thatcherites hope that it will collapse into being a simple trade agreement. Such hopes are equally groundless. Even if it were represented as a merely technical adjustment, a postponement of the 1999 deadline for the single currency could have irreversible consequences. The complaints which at present inhibit countries tempted to do so from competitively devaluing their currencies might well be severely weakened — thereby burdening Germany with an even more over-valued currency. The result would not be a sustainable status quo, but a highly unstable balance of power among Europe's nation states. It is because the German and French elites perceive these risks that they may try to establish a single currency themselves. Recent statements by Alain

Juppé, the French prime minister, suggest that the preferred strategy of France and Germany is to meet the 1999 deadline and present the rest of Europe with a fait accompli. If they do this, however, they risk making Europe's existing political divisions unbridgeable and permanent. Not only Britain, but also countries such as Spain, Sweden and Italy may be unwilling, or unable, to submit their economies to this deflationary regime. A single currency from which major European countries are excluded is not a step towards political union. It is an admission that political union is unachievable. The risk of the period of instability we are entering is that European institutions will unravel and Europe is little more than a customs union. A credible post-federalist project must see Europe as far more than that. It must be ready to think how the diverse forms of capitalism that Europe contains can renew themselves in competition with the rival capitalisms of America and east Asia. The task of the age is to combine the permanent revolution of the market with the satisfaction of enduring human needs. American individualist capitalism, despite its technological virtuosity, has failed in this task. The challenge for Europe is to devise ways of protecting its economies from such forms of capitalism which achieve their prodigious productivity through the sacrifice of social cohesion.

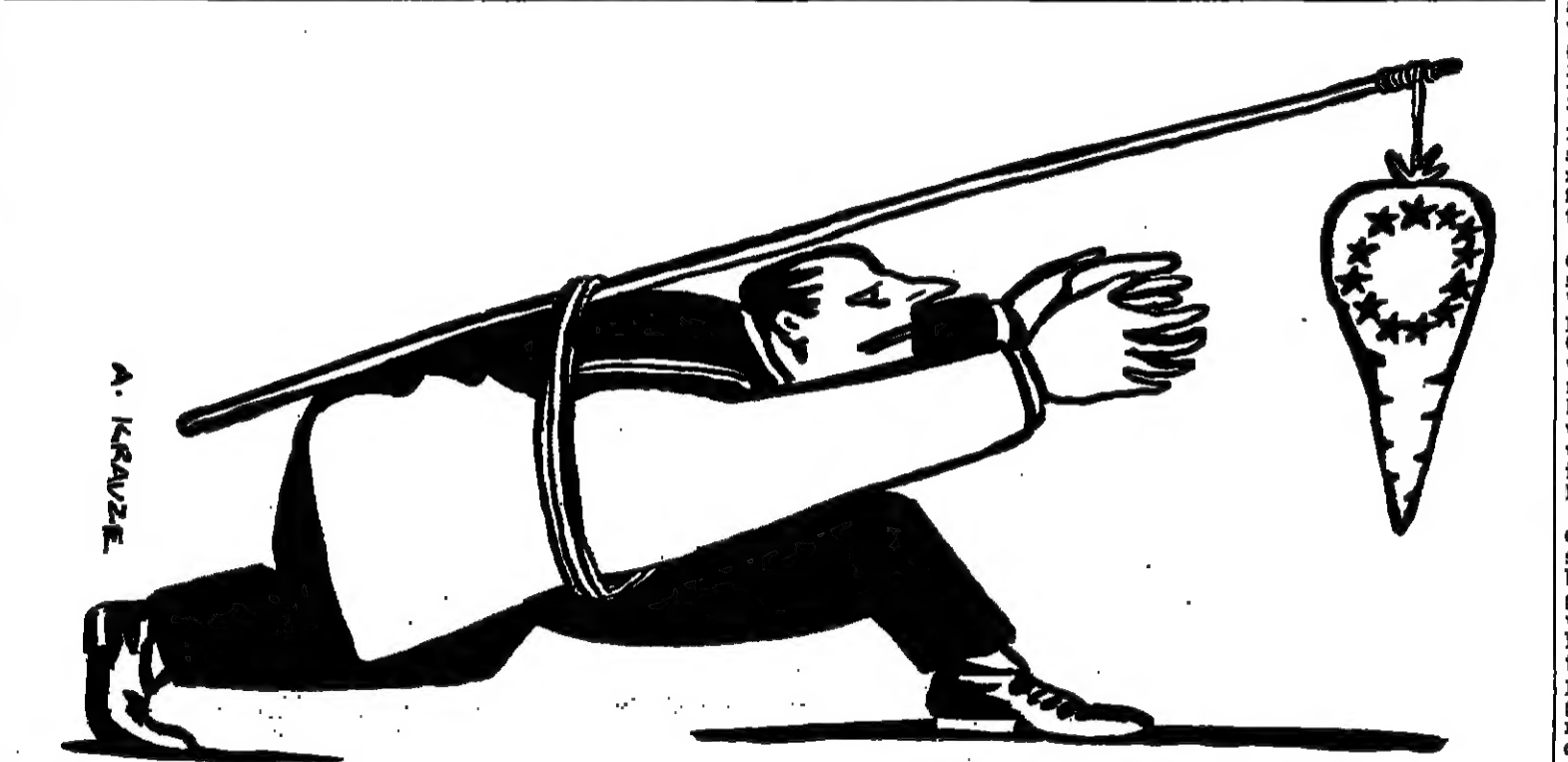
Search for the hero inside of us



Ros Coward

FINDING heroes is a popular British pastime. The tabloids search for them in all disasters or celebrate everyday heroism of brave children. Recently, they have begun to top a new vein — heroines. This is not always straightforward. Alison Hargreaves's death on E2 provoked ambivalence; as a mother she had no right to take risks with a life on which others depended. Since then, Fleur Lombard's death fire-fighting and the activities in Bosnia of a woman bomb disposal expert suggest that, as long as they are young and single, women are now entering this last male preserve. We search for heroes but we are no longer sure what we are looking for. Risk-taking, strength-based, male heroism has for some time seemed anachronistic. Our culture tends to deride rather than glorify militarism, where heroic values might have some place. Nor do current male working practices call for heroic acts of endurance and strength. Feminism made male heroism seem at best faintly ludicrous, at worse potentially threatening. Risk-taking heroism has increasingly been replaced by stress-bearing heroism. Women have already been performing well in this area. Combining work and family was made to look like the heroic project of the eighties. Men's churlishness only made women look better. The more women had to do it all to have it all, the more heroic their labours seemed. The eighties was the decade of Superwoman. Adverts showed her, power-suited, kissing her house-husband goodbye, or returning from work to assume control over a household of male incompetents. Even now these images persist, and not without effect: girls are reported to have much more self-esteem and optimism than boys. But women themselves were reluctant to play the stress-bearing heroine. Shirley Conran denounced Superwoman, her own creation, as oppressive. And many women point out that having it all did, of course, include having the nervous breakdown. By contrast, there's evidence of male anxiety to hang onto their heroic space. "Celebrities" and pop stars describe their grueling schedules and Stakonovite labours, appropriating somewhat obscenely the virtues of hard physical labour. The current muscular ideal for the male body — fashioned by workouts — is like a

bizarre parody of the hero, produced by leisure not labour. Last week saw the publication of Sperm Wars, in which Dr Robin Baker describes battles of the ejaculate ("magnificent, sleek, athletic") in Homeric terms. Presumably, the male warrior survives in the body if not the mind. According to Robert Bly, guru of the American men's movement, retrieving heroism is vital to the recovery of men. Contemporary men are unhappy because they are "soft", cut off from positive male energy — resolve, decisiveness and quickness. Men need to get in touch with these attributes by owning their masculine side, the infamous "tummy man within". Heroism is vital in this journey to separate, strong male identity. Bly insists he is not anti-women in spite of his obvious bias of the suffrage. But this nostalgia for male heroism often finds much more reactionary expression. Promise Keepers, which in 1986 boasted 280,000 members, is an American Christian men's movement aiming to restore male leadership. Members pledge themselves to physical and spiritual purity, and to create an environment of "godly masculinity". In spite of all this virile noise, the contemporary male hero remains, like Christopher Reeve, a superman in a wheelchair, what Jungians would doubtless call "a wounded hero". Most men simply laugh at Peugeot's new advert, which uses clichéd images of male heroism set to the music of Search For The Hero Inside Of You. The policeman chosen by the tabloids as the hero of the Docklands bombing politely declined the position: "I've done nothing like that. It is the heroic project of the eighties. Men's churlishness only made women look better. The more women had to do it all to have it all, the more heroic their labours seemed. The eighties was the decade of Superwoman. Adverts showed her, power-suited, kissing her house-husband goodbye, or returning from work to assume control over a household of male incompetents. Even now these images persist, and not without effect: girls are reported to have much more self-esteem and optimism than boys. But women themselves were reluctant to play the stress-bearing heroine. Shirley Conran denounced Superwoman, her own creation, as oppressive. And many women point out that having it all did, of course, include having the nervous breakdown. By contrast, there's evidence of male anxiety to hang onto their heroic space. "Celebrities" and pop stars describe their grueling schedules and Stakonovite labours, appropriating somewhat obscenely the virtues of hard physical labour. The current muscular ideal for the male body — fashioned by workouts — is like a more feminine terms.



Hans-Dietrich Genscher continues our series leading up to the inter-governmental conference with a plea for steady resolve. John Gray (above) is more sceptical

Only connect

BRITAIN IN EUROPE

IN HIS famous work A Study Of History, the great British scholar, Arnold Toynbee, showed that a culture's survival depends on its ability to find appropriate responses to ever-new challenges. Following the second world war, Europe found a response to the devastating and fratricidal wars of the past, and, above all, to this century's two world wars, by founding the European Communities. A new culture of co-existence has since emerged, founded on a policy of jointly assumed responsibility. The national identities of EC member states and the diversity of Europe have not suffered as a result; rather, the policy of European integration has allowed participating nations, for the first time in their history, to realise their own identities without living in fear of one another. Today, more than five years after the end of the East-West conflict, Europe faces challenges which demand new and innovative answers. The terrible conflict in the former Yugoslavia is only the most extreme proof that the demons of nationalism in Europe have in no way yet been banished. Only a determined continuation of the policy of European integration can counteract the danger of a new nationalism. In this spirit, following the end of the cold war and the overcoming of the division of Germany, the Maastricht Treaty sought, by creating the European Union, to prevent, on an enduring basis, the renationalisation of European politics. It is all the more urgent that we pool our resources and achieve a common perception of our interests since, now that the cold war is over, we face new global challenges. And for these challenges, there are no "British" or "German" solu-

tions — only European solutions. Worldwide hunger and under-development, mass migration, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international crime and terrorism, the threat to the very basis of natural life — all European states are affected by these, irrespective of their geographical location. No country on its own can find an effective answer to these problems, let alone carry through an appropriate policy. The irresistible trend towards a political and economic globalisation is manifest in the dynamic rise of new power centres, such as the North American Free Trade Area, Apec or the Asian group. Increasingly, the globalisation of markets is restricting the scope for national action. Conventional models of thought and action, therefore, are no longer of any help. The peoples of Europe will be able to assert their place in a world and an age of ever-tougher global competition only if they find appropriate responses to these problems. The survival of a culture depends on its ability to find responses to new challenges

— and guarantee economic growth and jobs — only if they combine their resources and act together. There is, therefore, no realistic and viable alternative to the European Union. Even so, the EU — now numbering 15 members, and set to grow further in the coming years — must adapt its institutions to these changed circumstances if, in future, it wishes to remain capable of effective action. This is the task of the Inter-Governmental Conference, which will commence its review of the Maastricht Treaty in March. The democratic legitimacy and efficiency of these European institutions must be improved. At the same time, the EU must — through a coherent common foreign and security policy — be rendered capable of effectively pursuing its interests worldwide. Only in this way can Europe, together with its most important partners, the US and Japan, help to shape the construction of a new and stable world order and act in future as an anchor of stability for a just and enduring peace in the whole of Europe, including Russia and the other successor states of the Soviet Union. This also presumes a strengthening of the defence and security dimensions of the EU. Here, the integration of the Western European Union (WEU) into the EU as the European pillar of an enduringly indispensable Nato will be of crucial importance. EU citizens also expect progress in dealing with urgent questions of justice and home-affairs policy, such as asylum policy and the fight against crime. Nobody, however, is seeking a form of bureaucratic centralism at European level. Rather, the EU's further development must go hand in hand with a determined policy of deregulation and the removal of excessive red tape. Therefore, as already foreseen in the Maastricht Treaty, the EU should in future only act if a problem can no longer be solved at national level and if, therefore, the EU is better placed to do so. Alongside the development of EU institutions, the achievement of monetary union on January 1, 1999 is of supreme importance for the long-term safeguarding of prosperity and economic stability in Europe. Quite rightly, the European basis of state and government reaffirmed at their Madrid summit the Maastricht Treaty's binding provisions on the timetable and criteria for introducing a common European currency, thereby creating absolute clarity on this issue. Only with the introduction of a common European currency will the European single market be completed. The potential for growth inherent in this single market will only be fully unleashed once it ceases to be the only single market in the world

which affords itself the luxury of 14 different currencies, and the concomitant transaction costs of tens of billions of pounds each year, as well as numerous other problems. Our export industries are more severely hit by exchange-rate fluctuations among the European currencies than by those of the dollar or the yen. A single European currency, by contrast, will create a secure costing basis for European industry and for our partners worldwide. The completion of monetary union will not remove any national competence in shaping monetary policy that has not long become obsolete through the globalisation of financial markets. On the contrary, a fully-fledged monetary union will only strengthen the global significance of the EU as a financial market. And this will provide the market economy in Europe with a further powerful boost for growth. However, this assumes that monetary union will be a

jeopardised by talk of postponing monetary union or softening the criteria. Although the East-West conflict has come to an end, Europe is still marked by a dividing line in terms of prosperity and stability running along the current EU's eastern and south-eastern border. The enlargement of the EU as a zone of stability is, therefore, crucial to stability and security in the whole of Europe. Both can be achieved only if democracy and the market economy are irreversibly anchored in the states of central and south-eastern Europe. The Madrid summit's commitment to decide by the end of 1997 on commencing negotiations with a first group of associated states from central and south-eastern Europe was, therefore, an important signal. It will strengthen these countries' resolve in pressing ahead with the process of political and economic transformation. At the same time, in the interests of pan-European stability, it is important to deepen relations with Russia, the Ukraine and other ex-Soviet states. On the threshold of the 21st century, Europe faces momentous decisions. With the end of the cold war, Europe's peoples have a great opportunity to safeguard peace and prosperity. Britain, with its worldwide links and its experienced diplomacy, its commitment to international free trade and its great parliamentary tradition, makes an indispensable contribution to Europe's identity. From the outset, therefore, the Federal Republic of Germany fought for the UK's membership of the EC and thereafter has always sought to ensure that all EC decisions are taken with Britain. A European Union which, in its very diversity, can give forward-looking answers to common challenges is a guarantor of long-lasting peace and prosperity for our peoples. Hans-Dietrich Genscher was German foreign minister from 1974-82 and Europe's longest-serving foreign minister since the second world war. He is a Free Democrat member of the Bundestag

Advertisement for "Food for Thought" by Vernon Coleman. Text: "Between a third and a half of all cancers are caused by eating the wrong types of food". Includes a small illustration of a person and text: "I'M A TORY, NOTHING STICKS TO ME".

Tory's hall of...

Evelyn Laye

Gaiety girl

NOEL Coward wrote "I'll see you again, whenever... Spring breaks through again" in Bitter Sweet with Evelyn Laye in mind.

Despite the profusion of female talent that illuminated the London theatre between the wars, Laye's claim to the title of Britain's greatest musical leading lady of the century is strong.

A quintessential child of the stage, Elsie Evelyn Laye — her father added an 'e' to the family name for the billboards — was originally a musical lodger at 8 Bloomsbury Place, London.

MATTHEWS Hale married Elsie in 1931, and went on to become the British film industry's top box office star.

Navy, and her marriage was in crisis. Hale complained she was never at home and was never to see her children.

In 1928, Hale and Matthews were teamed again in Noel Coward's revue, This Year of Grace.

In April 1932, Laye starred in the musical All Through a Glass of Champagne.

ing Matthews on stage many years later in the plumpness of middle age, Laye said sadly: "Poor Jessie! The dear little boob has become a simple dumpling."

Samuel Goldwyn at once offered Laye a screen contract, and she was in Hollywood, filming One Heavenly Night.



Evelyn Laye... Britain's greatest leading lady of the century brought glamour incarnate to a series of hit musicals

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Pat Brown

Power in the golden state

PAT BROWN, who has died aged 90, nearly saved his country from one of its worst political traumas.

Through national history turned out rather differently, America's largest state is still benefiting from the vast public works carried out during Brown's six years in office.

Water has been the key to power and prosperity in California from its earliest days.

His eight years in that job established a firm basis from which to launch his 1958 bid for the governorship.

Another Day February 18, 1923: How it would interest me if this diary were ever to become a radio play.

Birthdays Prince Andrew, Duke of York, 38; Maj-Gen Peter Baldwin, chief executive, Radio Authority, 69; Sir Nicholas Penn, retiring High Commissioner to India, 60; Lord Forbes, premier Lord of Scotland, 78; Hans Mandlikova, tennis player, 34; Keith Mans, Conservative MP, 50; Fred Bernard Meadows, sculptor, 81; Erin Fraser, champion of battered wives, 57; Peter Price, Conservative MEP, 54; Smokey Robinson, singer, 56; Erin Shapiro, writer and campaigner, 57; Gwen Taylor, actress, 57; Brian Tisdale, former deputy chairman, London Weekend Television, 67.

tried to change the law. In the face of a storm of local protest the legislature refused and Brown then authorized Chessman's death in the gas chamber.

His explanation for this, and the other 42 executions he authorised, was he was obliged to uphold the law — but he paid a high political price, being widely derided for his apparent indecision.

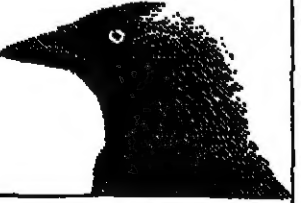
In spite of this, he defeated Richard Nixon, the apparent front-runner, by 300,000 votes in the re-election campaign of 1962.

But the Watts race riots of 1965, in which 44 people died, 400 local businesses were wiped out, and 500 square blocks of Los Angeles suffered damage costing \$40 million.

Edmund G. Brown, politician, born April 21, 1905; died February 18, 1996

Engagements EVERETT MEYER and PATY VOSE wish to announce their engagement for February 1996. For more details contact telephone 0171 611 0820

Jackdaw



Ashes to ashes

BOTH Love and Cobain were intermittent Buddhists... So the shotgun violence of Cobain's suicide laid down some very hard karma.

while she was going through security, an officer had opened [her] teddy-bear knapsack. "What's this?" he asked, as puffs of dusty ash flew up and out of the knapsack.

Courtney Love spent almost two weeks in Ibiza [at the Buddhist monastery], sending to her late husband's passage into the next life... In the low-key way of the place, she has entered the local lore, and the townspeople didn't seem to know whether to take up torches or join up with her and learn a thing or two.

bear was opened, and the monks emptied the ashes and the wedding dress on to a table... As they shook out the dress, some of the ashes drifted up into the air. "We all inhaled a little bit of Kurt that day," says someone who was there.

Clubland MY DEAR Sir/Madam, I write for details of becoming a member of your club. I have been driving since shortly after the war and am now in possession of an old

Anglia, I am, or should I say was, a member of the Auto-mobile Association, but despite their claim to having "very nice men" I have always found them to be shifty in the extreme and often in possession of a pair of eyes which are too close together for comfort.

DEAR Mrs Blow, Thank you for your recent letter... regarding RAC membership. I regret the obvious confusion that in 1993 appears to be... RAC Association membership provides a comprehensive

breakdown service and the levels of service available are outlined in the literature recently sent to you. Associate membership does not give the member any entitlement to the RAC clubhouse.

Book life Readers are interested in: ● real lives ● real traumas ● real dysfunctionality ● what to do to include: ● no-holds barred truthfulness

opening shocker ● man relatives (make sure they're dead — so can't sue) ● description of depressing childhood home ● major trauma



sexual or alcoholic ● never slashed wrists ● never had a vicious dog that was taken away to die

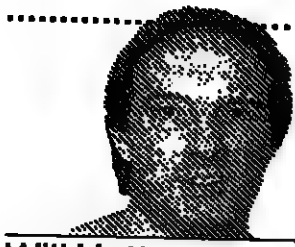
This won't hurt NEXT TIME you find yourself prostrate in the dentist's chair, there may be something to distract you — sartorially at least — from the sound of drilling.

cutting-edge fashion, but designers have unworked surgical spirit for this season, transplanting the dental hygienist to the catwalk.

Jackdaw wants your jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4666; Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Handwritten signature or scribble at the bottom of the page.

Tory story in a hall of mirrors



Will Hutton

LAST week saw some remarkable statistics. Unemployment in January fell to its lowest for five years, but meanwhile underlying inflation dropped back below 3 per cent. Even the Bank of England acknowledged that the Government is a little more likely than not to hit its 2.5 per cent target for underlying inflation in the next two years. Britain's chronic tendency towards inflation seems to be evaporating.

There is a new spring in ministerial steps, despite the shadow of the next report. Conservatism is obviously working, and a further interest rate cut cannot be far away. Those 15 years of labour market reforms, weakening trade unions and offering less protection to employees have made workers less hawkish in their wage claims.

Ken Clarke's pre-emptive interest rate rise 18 months ago showed a determination on the issue of inflation that is now paying off. And ministers' loyalty to the trade unionists has produced a much less Panglossian interpretation.

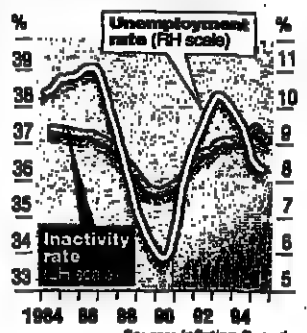
Labour-market flexibility, globalisation and pre-emptive disinflation are all part of a wider story in which, put simply, capital has become very powerful in relation to labour. We may live in disinflationary times, but the share of profits in national income has risen sharply while the share accruing to wages has fallen to its lowest level for 40 years. Behind the new, fashionable buzz-words stand some very old-fashioned power relations — bringing

insecurity, instability and inequality in their wake. Conservatives should think twice before they cheer too loudly.

For, as last week's Bank of England Inflation Report highlights, the fall in unemployment has not implied a rise in full-time employment or even a fall in economic inactivity — the definition which encompasses those (mainly men) who have counted themselves out of the labour market, living on incapacity benefit, savings or early retirement income. Instead, there has been a significant rise in part-time work and in the volume of hours worked by part-time workers. People have been moving from unemployment into a world of insecure, part-time jobs, a category which now constitutes 30 per cent of the labour market.

Nor is this well-paid work. John Hughes of the Trade Union Research Unit at Ruskin College has looked at the evidence in the 1995 New Earnings Survey showing that half Britain's part-timers

Unemployment and inactivity



earn less than £4.40 an hour. Britain's employers, in short, have over the last four years been hiring cheap part-timers who they can quickly sack if times get hard. They have largely refused to increase investment, which is still falling as a proportion of GDP. What's more for those in the bottom 10 per cent is that hourly wage-rates are actually lower in 1995 than they were in 1994.

In other words, the lack of wage pressure reflects the new structure of the labour market, and that in turn indicates the new capacity and desire of employers to hire low paid, part-time and temporary workers.

The story ministers like to peddle is that this is a vital competitive advantage for Britain, but this is completely unsupported by the evidence. In the first place, multinationals in Britain, as the OECD reported in 1994, offer more full-time, high-wage jobs than do indigenous British employers. Second, the whole argument about globalisation is hugely overstated, as Paul Hirst and Graham Thompson argue in their new book, *Globalisation in Question*. Hirst and Thompson produce some remarkable

tables showing that multinationals still have the vast bulk of their activity in their home region. Moreover, the trend between 1987 and 1992/3 was to *deglobalise*, concentrating more rather than less of their activity close to home.

Nor do Hirst and Thompson detect a vast flood of investment into low-wage, less developed countries. Indeed they argue that mass production of all but very simple low-tech goods is very risky outside the infrastructure offered by developed countries, a view shared by the multinationals themselves. They tend to invest in a few developing countries where economic success is proven but is largely reliant on shifting labour from low value-added agriculture to high value-added industry, a move which cannot take place in many cases.

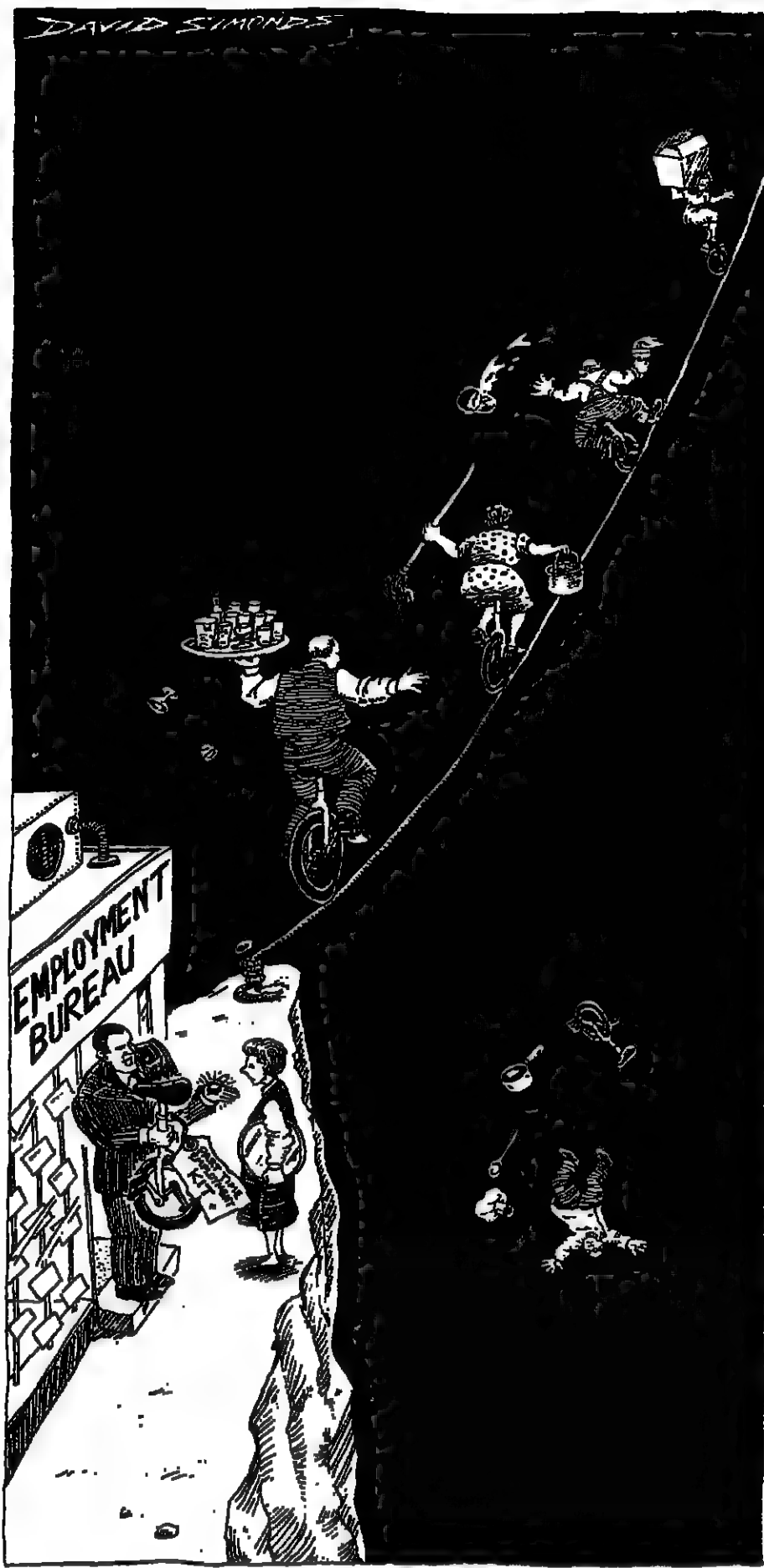
The whole story about a vast pool of cheap Asian labour hanging as a Damocles' sword over western wage levels is unjustified: there is just insufficient investment in these countries by multinationals or competition from them to explain trends in the British labour market. In any case, the vast bulk of trade and investment is between Europe, North America and Japan — with similar wage levels.

The main impact on the labour market is the perceived threat of multinationals and large domestic companies having the option of moving production to low-cost countries. But most large companies would rather retain the threat than deliver on it and it is that threat, it is alleged by some (for example, the current NIESR Review), that may be helping reduce wage pressure.

This might be true in some instances, but it seems far-fetched as an explanation of the changes in employment and wage patterns across the economy. Something more profound must be going on — and a glance at the business pages shows what it is.

United Kingdom plc is in the throes of a wave of takeovers, deals and mergers that makes the 1980s look tame. In the last six working days, Rentokil has taken over a hostile £1.7 billion bid for giant conglomerate B&T. Granada, fresh from its takeover of Trust House Forte, has built up its stake in Yorkshire TV, MAI and United Newspapers have announced a £3 billion merger and a company-bid is under way for the television network. What's more, these takeovers are now running at an annualised rate of close to £300 billion. It is staggering.

More ominously still, there are growing signs that the major pension funds and insurance companies are in cahoots with predator compe-



nies to launch these bids and deals, offering us the high share prices and good short-term performance for institutional investors.

Andrew Dickerson, Feather Gibson and Euclid Tuckman of the World Bank have sent me an intriguing study of how a capital market of uncommitted shareholders interacts with managers frightened of takeover to produce an economy which is characterised by low investment, high dividend payout ratios and frequent takeovers.

The best equilibrium is obviously a high investment-low dividend strategy for all,

but once one company defects and goes for a high dividend-low investment strategy to boost the share price and grow by takeover, every other company is forced to follow suit if it wants to retain its independence. This is what is happening today. Companies are hiring low-paid, part-time workers and under-investing in order to boost short-term profits and pay high dividends — all want to be predators rather than victims. Even long-termist, decent investment institutions, such as Standard Life, vainly trying to stop the drama plays itself out, because it will end in tears.

and insisting on proper standards of corporate governance, are helpless before the avalanche of boardroom egomania and sheer greed.

But this is just another expression of contemporary power relations. We are living through a great empowerment of capital in a very particular financial system and misunderstanding the by-products. Low wages do not preclude a new Nirvana or an efficient labour-market; they are the result of a system malfunction that inexorably generates low investment and low growth. Watch as the drama plays itself out, because it will end in tears.

New Man faces up to parental leave dilemma

Worldview Edward Balls

NEW men should be aware. Changing nappies, shopping and sharing the childcare with a working partner might seem enough of a burden already. But according to the Institute of Directors, you also bear the responsibility for Europe's unemployment problem too.

Well, not quite. But the IOD's hysterical reaction to the proposed parental leave directive, the second piece of Social Chapter legislation, does not fall far short of such a claim. Its pamphlet, published last week and entitled *Social Europe* — The Implications of Current European Social Policy, claims that the Social Chapter is stifling enterprise and job creation, with the parental leave directive singled out as a particularly dangerous threat to Europe's unemployed.

Yet, as a recent US study shows, the evidence is that countries which offer moderate periods of parental leave do not have lower employment as a result. Indeed, by making it easier for women to work and maintain their skills, the effects on incomes and employment are positive.

The parental leave directive is actually modest compared to entitlement available in many European countries. Negotiated between European employers and trade unions last December, the directive would give employees across the European Union, save for Britain, up to three months unpaid parental leave any time in a child's first eight years on top of paid maternity leave.

The agreement will now go to EU governments for approval and then be made into law in every state except the UK. But many European countries already allow employees much longer periods of unpaid and even paid leave. Swedish fathers are allowed over 60 weeks of paid parental leave while German dads can take even more.

The only countries which do not legislate for any time off work for fathers are Ireland and Britain. Yet it is in Britain, with one of the highest proportions of women at work, where the case for sharing the burden of childcare is particularly strong.

Almost half of British women now work, up from a third 30 years ago, and they are returning to work much earlier after childbirth. One study showed that the number of women going back to work before their child's first birthday has risen from 18 per cent in the 1960s to 55 per cent today; over 80 per cent of dads are directly involved, nappy changing and other practical tasks now, twice as many as in the 1950s.

The British government has argued that individual

employers and employees should negotiate unpaid parental leave from work if they choose to do so. Yet it has not applied the same logic to maternity leave, which is required by law. For expecting companies to choose to provide leave, whether paid for mothers or unpaid for fathers, defies logic.

The reason is simple, as the OECD argued in last year's *Employment Outlook*: if companies can choose whether to offer parental leave, then people who expect to take it will want to work for employers who give it, making it prohibitively expensive for them to do so. Only by mandating that every firm must offer leave is it possible to ensure companies cannot opt out.

The more that labour can move across national borders, the more this argument requires legislation to ensure a minimum provision is available in all EU countries.

Nor does the evidence suggest that allowing parents 14 unpaid weeks off to look after their newborn children is a threat to European jobs.

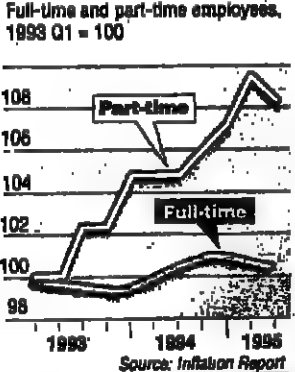
'Allowing parents 14 unpaid weeks off to look after their new-born is no threat to jobs'

The most comprehensive study was published last year by the US National Bureau of Economic Research. The authors, Christopher Ruhm and Jacqueline Teague, surveyed the impact of parental leave on new-born employment in 17 developed countries between 1966 and 1990.

At first sight, the evidence appears to support the IOD's case. But when they looked more closely, they found that while entitlement to lengthy periods of parental leave depressed employment, short to moderate periods of leave actually increased employment and incomes. The beneficial effects of leave were predicted by their analysis to stretch over a number of months — 14 weeks was well within the employment-enhancing range. And the effect on employment was positive for both paid and unpaid leave.

So the evidence suggests that fathers can share the burden of childcare in the early weeks after birth without imposing damaging burdens on the economy. And legislation is necessary to ensure that companies have the incentive to provide leave. Yet, despite their almost certainly over-generous entitlement, only 5 per cent of German men actually use their parental leave entitlement, by itself, is not enough to turn man into New Man. Parental leave policies in Europe and North America, NBER Working Paper 5065.

Hours worked



Left has nothing to fear from embracing EMU

Debate Dan Corry

ECONOMIC policy-making is undertaken while having to look constantly over one's shoulder at how the currency markets are likely to respond, then radical policies at variance with the interest of these markets stand little chance.

Policy is likely to end up being weak on jobs, excessively tough on inflation and fiscal policy, and impelled to create a flexible, deregulated, low-tax world with resulting implications for inequality, security and stability.

This should lead anyone with a progressive agenda to support moves to a single European currency. But many on the left, instinctively pro-European, have started to get cold feet about EMU.

Why? There is the view that EMU failed us and therefore EMU will also fail us. What the left should be concerned about, though, was that a fixed but adjustable system is unlikely to work. This experience strengthens the case for believing that a single currency is the only way to achieve currency stability.

A more substantial worry concerns the wisdom of giving up the ability to devalue. But devaluation has not got Britain that far over the years: apart from giving weak incentives to cost control, it has often led to inflation as workers and firms try to restore real wages and profit margins. Even the recent devaluation — in the best circumstances of a deep recession — seemed to give only a

small boost to growth, with no lasting effects.

In any case, the potential costs of giving up the devaluation option must be set against the benefits of a single currency, including a reduction in transaction costs, an increase in investment and trade as a consequence of reduced exchange rate uncertainty, and lower interest rates once the markets no longer have to fear devaluation.

Some fear that a single currency requires a big budget at the European level. But if the central aim is to make up for the loss of a nation's ability to devalue to offset the immediate effects of a shock that hits only that country, analysis shows that one needs only a very small budget. It is the maintaining of levels of GDP per head, plus the central administration of things like social

Indicators

TODAY — US: Holiday.	UK: M4 Lending (Provisional) (Jan).	UK: M4 (Provisional) (Jan).	UK: M4 Lending (Provisional) (Jan).
US: M3 (Final) (Jan).	UK: Producer prices (Jan).	UK: Producer prices (Jan).	UK: Producer prices (Jan).
US: Private sector Bank lending (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
US: Wholesale prices (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
US: New Hampshire primary.	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
US: Humphrey Hawkins testimony.	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
US: Leading indicators (Dec).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
US: Industrial production (Dec).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).
US: Manufacturing production.	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).	UK: Retail sales (Jan).

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.875	France 7.51	Italy 2.395	Singapore 2.13
Austria 15.25	Germany 2.20	Netherlands 2.4675	South Africa 5.32
Belgium 45.00	Greece 370.00	Norway 10.55	Spain 184.00
Canada 2.0625	Hong Kong 11.70	New Zealand 2.25	Sweden 10.55
Cyprus 0.7075	Ireland 0.8550	Portugal 228.50	Switzerland 1.785
Denmark 8.50	Israel 4.78	Saudi Arabia 5.73	Turkey 94.857
Finland 6.98	UK 1.00	US 1.00	US 1.00

Letting Gatt out of Mrs T's bag

Worm's eye Dan Atkinson

WHAT a nervy week this will be for the bureaucrats and the Trade Organisation, the enforcement arm of multinational big business.

You don't have to be Doris Stokes to predict that plans for a new trade agreement will be heading for some serious examination of the Gatt treaty as the WTO hunts out suitable penalty clauses for any country daring to "turn its back" on the "international trading system".

Such back-turning becomes more likely by the day. In the US, the free-trade orthodoxy is shredded by the Buchanan election campaign. In Germany, Europe's biggest economy staggers under the burden of 4 million unemployed.

France, of course, never believed in free trade, nor did Japan. Suddenly, the worldwide consensus behind Gatt-ery and all its works looks shakier than it did even two months ago.

All of which, you'll be told, is "very disturbing". In Gatt-speak, "very disturbing" marks a distant threat to free trade, whereas "tragic" describes an imminent danger. "Protectionism" we will hear, "has raised its ugly head."

The urge to protect is one of the most basic human instincts. It has taken years of expensive propaganda for the free-trade establishment to have even a chance

of persuading the world's various populations that acting upon this instinct in the economic field is to behave in an aberrant way.

The outcome of the US elections is crucial to the prospects for breaking the free-trade spell, but the course of events in Germany and its satellites may come to a head more quickly. It is becoming apparent to the Continent's big cheeses that the hated Mrs T planted two time bombs inside the Union's engine room, both set to explode after her departure.

The first was the commitment to the abolition across Europe of exchange controls, the other was the commitment to free trade exemplified by the installation of Sir Leon Brittan in the Euro-commission. As was apparent to all intelligent people, free capital movements would destroy the ERM, as they duly did in 1992/93.

Now free trade — the second bomb — is going to blow away "social Gaulism", "Rhenish capitalism" or whatever phrase one uses to describe continental Europe's (usually) admirable attempts at social democracy.

As the backlash against free trade gathers pace, you can bet the British establishment will warn anyone who will listen that trade flows represent huge and unstoppable global forces, and that resistance is "fruitless".

Pay no attention. Events overseas may soon overtake them. In fact, with a bit of luck, worldwide tragedy will strike sooner than we think.

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RUGBY UNION: FIVE NATIONS CHAMPIONSHIP

Wales 14, Scotland 16

Scottish set to let rip after let-off by Thomas

Robert Armstrong in Cardiff

NO ONE should be misled by Scotland's public breathing about their perceived shortcomings after an agonisingly narrow victory over Wales...

pro-nationalist movies like Rob Roy and Mel Gibson's Braveheart north of the border proves an accurate guide...

Such is the canny psychology of Telfer's build-up to the England game that he was not prepared to allow the Scottish players to savour their triumph over Wales...

However, the cold logic of the scoring pattern at Cardiff shows that for most of the time Scotland were in the driving seat...

Wainwright's stout-hearted team emphasise the golden rule of modern rugby, that the great majority of closely contested matches are ultimately won by dreadnought defences...

Of course, statistics can offer few clues to the passion and commitment which made the game one of the most memorable at the Arms Park during the Nineties...

Wales deserved admiration, not least because their forwards, splendidly led by Humphreys, attempted to play a more technically fluent game than their predatory, streetwise opponents...



Single-handed... Gregor Townsend penetrates the Welsh defences at last to plant Scotland's try

play a more technically fluent game than their predatory, streetwise opponents. But Scotland have evolved a quick, economical style that enables them to counter-attack with remarkable directness and to transcend the unpredictable skirmishing that characterises the Five Nations Championship...

It is true, as Telfer suggested, that Scotland "at times played second fiddle" but that fiddle remained in measured control, particularly in the back row where Wainwright and the understated Smith often secured ball to which they had no right...

Scotland's ability to absorb pressure for lengthy periods and still get the scores that win matches will give England much to analyse at Carling's team meetings...

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France 45, Ireland 10

France finish on a high

Ian Northwick in Paris

FRANCE'S captain Philippe Saint-André may not be the world's greatest leader on the field but he certainly has an inimitable way of talking to his team that leaves no margin for error...

Despite the numerous chafes to the team after the Scotland game, the new look Tricolours not only ran in seven tries but also produced a couple of trump cards in young players having their first Test...

The record-breaking 35-point victory was nevertheless no walkover, as the French camp can testify, and came only after 80 minutes of some of France's most applied and consistent rugby in several years...

As for Ireland, who at least had the merit of remaining positive throughout the game, even the last-minute penalty try which Niall Hogan could justifiably call his as the battling scrum-half actually scored just as referee Ed Morrison blew the whistle...

THE ONE thing Rob Wainwright clearly remembers about Scotland's last blissfully romantic Grand Slam victory over the Auld Enemy is throwing a tartan scarf high into the Edinburgh sky from his cramped vantage point on the Murrayfield terraces...

He tackled, he drove, he played the line-out. Then, just for good measure, he tackled some more. It was virtuoso stuff and poor Emyr Lewis, the Welsh bull given the task of marking him, was blown clean out of the ring...

Perhaps the defining act of Wainwright's prodigious effort came 13 minutes after the break. Rowan Shepherd set up a ruck in the centre field 10 metres inside the Scottish half and his captain was there in a trice to wrestle the ball clear on the floor...

Workaholic Wainwright

Chris Hewett sees Scotland's captain play fast, loose and everywhere to win all his battles except one before the start

Redpath's oojaling snappiness at scrum-half and Gregor Townsend's thoroughbred centring outside him, it was Wainwright who laid the foundations for an Arms Park victory scarcely justified by the usual kitman tests of territory and possession...

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Courage League One Saracens 6, Harlequins 13

Saracens meet Sella's price as their stock falls

Tom Mallin

NIGEL WRAY's millions will enable Saracens to unveil their second signing of the year tomorrow...

Three league defeats since the turn of the year and Gloucester's revival at Kingsholm on Saturday puts the north Londoners' place in the top flight in jeopardy...

With four away games and a home match against Bath to come, their coach Mark Evans' goal of 13 points still looks distant...

"Our destiny is still in our hands," said Evans, who will have the Ireland flanker Eddie Halvey available for three matches but who really needs Michael Lynagh in the No. 10 shirt immediately...

A year or two ago Harlequins may have come here, minus a couple of players still on sick holidays, and called the game. Not now. The prospect of European competition and the acid tongue of their coaching director Dick Best have concentrated minds and Quins dogged it out in the Southgate mud...

A slight game was decided on the hour when Saracens won quick ball from their own scrum on their 10-yard line. Andy Lee's kick was charged down by Peter Marshall and the Quins' centre took advantage of a lucky bounce to run the ball in from 40 yards. It was cruel...

There were encouraging signs for Saracens. Their young scrum-half Phil Friel, standing in for the injured captain Brian Davies, snapped away like Bryn Reffell, the latest target for the new riche Saracens...

But for all their frantic attacking, particularly in the final quarter, Harlequins' defence was too well organised. Spencer Bromley's try-saving tackle on Kris Chesney, a fit 6ft 10in wing in the Jonah Lomu mould, typified their bloody-mindedness...

Will Carling, too, was prepared to get his shirt dirty for the cause, running of the field at the end of games holding his right hand and having to endure the agony of popping back a dislocated finger in the dressing room...

"He'll be fit for the Valentine's Dance tonight," said Best afterwards. "Who's going wild?" was the instant question, neatly sidestepped. Best, who once memorably said his club had more prima donnas than the Bolshoi Ballet, has no wallflowers sitting around nowadays...

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Advertisement for the British Heart Foundation, featuring a heart illustration and text: 'HALF OF ALL DEATHS ARE FROM HEART AND CIRCULATORY DISEASE. HELP US FIGHT BRITAIN'S No. 1 KILLER. CALL 0990 200 656.'

Sport in brief

Golf

Craig Parry shot a two-under-par 71 for 279 in Melbourne to win the Australian Masters for the third time in five years, finishing two strokes ahead of Bradley Hughes who bogeyed the last two holes...

Snooker

Jimmy White, complaining of feeling unwell, became the seventh player from the top 10 to fall in the first round of the Swindon Open...

Motor Cycling

The future of grand prix racing has been secured into the next century by the signing of a ten-year multi-million-pound contract between the International Road Racing Teams' Association and the Swiss-based sports marketing company International Sport and Leisure...

Tennis

The French veteran Guy Forget, without a title win since 1992, denied his Davis Cup team-mate Cedric Pioline his first victory on the ATP tour when he beat him 7-6, 6-4 in the final of the Marseille tournament yesterday...

Hockey

German offensive brings Hightown down to earth

Pat Rowley

HIGHTTOWN maintained Britain's record of having won a medal in every Women's European Indoor Championships, but the Lancashire side had content with bronze after losing to the two German clubs at Bratislava on Saturday...

Berliner defeated them 9-7 which meant a semi-final for Highttown against the holders Rüsselsheim who beat them 6-1. Rüsselsheim went on to win the title for the fifth time beating Berliner 7-4, while Highttown edged Valdeuz of Spain 8-6 for third place...

Old Loughtonians achieved their main objective in the men's B division in Brussels by qualifying to play in the A division next year, but they lost the B final on strokes after drawing 5-5 with Zurich Grasshoppers...

They missed far too many chances throughout the weekend and failed to capitalise on a 4-1 lead in the final. In the shoot-out Britain's Nick Thompson, whose late corner goal had saved them from defeat, converted the first stroke but they lost 3-1 on penalties...

Fontwell runner

Fontwell runner... (Small text, partially illegible)

Dunwoody on...

Dunwoody on... (Small text, partially illegible)

Racing

Racing... (Small text, partially illegible)

Racing... (Small text, partially illegible)

Racing... (Small text, partially illegible)

Large advertisement on the right side of the page for 'Tendu canes' and 'Fontwell runner', featuring images of canes and text.

Cricket

Tendulkar canes Kenya

SACHIN Tendulkar gave Kenya's bowlers a harsh introduction to the World Cup by hitting an unbeaten 127...

left-arm partner Venkatesh Prasad took two for 24, but the Indian seam attack was disappointing.

Tendulkar shared an opening stand of 183 with Ajay Jadeja, racing to his first 50 off only 46 balls...

Tendulkar's second 50 occupied a more leisurely 71 deliveries, but he accelerated again once past a hundred...

India's next match is against the West Indies in Gwalior on Wednesday...

Kenya now travel to Visakhapatnam for another formidable challenge, this time posed by Australia.

Yesterday, Tendulkar launched his first Test against the West Indies...

In Baroda, New Zealand followed up their first Test victory over England with an emphatic 119-run win against Holland...

Their top order all made useful contributions, headed by Steve Tikolo...

A brisk second-wicket partnership of 115 between Craig Spearman and Stephen Fleming provided the foundation of success...

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Shadowlands... Atherton opens out during a tentative innings in yesterday's victory over UAE in Peshawar

Racing

Dunwoody on Champion alert as Bradley misses Alderbrook homework

Chris Hawkins

DANOLI enhanced his Champion Hurdle claims during the weekend. Atours has all but scuppered him, and Graham Bradley has strained relations with Kim Bailey...

to arrive and the stable's main work rider, Jimmy McCarty, substituted.

resume in the Champion Hurdle itself.

"This is not good, but it could be worse. That's all I can say at the moment, but it obviously puts his Champion hopes under a cloud."

A month ago Danoli re-awakened hopes that he would make the Champion Hurdle...

Hill's ante-post book on the Champion, while Alderbrook has been clipped to 2-1 from 9-4.

Fontwell runners and riders with form

Table listing horse racing results for Fontwell, including race numbers, horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table listing horse racing results for Musselburgh, including race numbers, horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Table listing horse racing results for Southwell (A.W. Flat), including race numbers, horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Rugby League

Cup, fifth round: Halifax 24, Sheffield 20

Bentley waits on sentence

Paul Fitzpatrick

JOHN BENTLEY will await Thursday's disciplinary hearing with trepidation after being sent off at Thurin Hall yesterday.

points had come from a fine try by Bentley and a goal from Schuster to three penalties by the young Matthew Crowther.

Any ban means he will miss next Sunday's quarter-final at home to Leeds, and a two-match suspension would deny him a semi-final appearance as well.

The second half was on a different scale altogether. First, Halifax appeared to have taken control when Anderson and Baldwin capitalised on intense Halifax pressure.

One man whose cup campaign has definitely ended is St John Ellis. He was carried off after only eight minutes with a suspected broken leg.

Price, a substitute, went over and the excellent Stott followed him six minutes later. Unhappily for the Eagles, Crowther failed to improve either try and the time Schuster returned Halifax still led by four points.

But that was only part of the flare-up and Steve Presley sent Karl Harrison and Andy Hay to the sin-bin and put Mike Urunga and Mark Gannon on report.

A pulsating encounter then under another twist in Halifax's favour when Rowley took advantage of some slack Eagles marking and scooted clear to the posts. That gave Schuster a simple kick.

The bad blood had still not cleared and just before the interval the Frenchman, Jean-Marc Garcia, was dismissed for throwing a gratuitous punch at Mark Chester.

Still Sheffield were not finished and seven minutes remained when Price scored his second try. Aston booted over a difficult conversion to emphasise how important those two missed chances of Crowther's had been.

Out of the ill discipline, however, emerged a contest in the best traditions of the cup. At half-time with both sides level at 12 men, the scores were level at 6-6 showing how little there had been to choose between them. Halifax's

Halifax: Urunga, Bentley, Schuster, Urunga, Harrison, Smith, Moore, Price, Harrison, Rowley, Anderson (Katherine), Anderson, 73 Jackson, Arno, Adams.

Widnes give Dewsbury no quarter

HAAT-TRICK of tries from the centre Mike Peckey sent Widnes into the quarter-finals of the Silk Cut Challenge Cup at the expense of Dewsbury...

their superiority with further scores from Peckey and Cooper before Dewsbury rallied. The busy scrum-half Barry Eaton followed up his own kick to touch down before adding the goal to reduce Widnes's half-time lead to 16-10.

Peckey was backed up by the Man of the Match Steve McCarrie and the scrum-half Shane Cooper who scored two tries apiece.

Widnes took the lead after 17 minutes when Peckey scored their first try which Christian Tyrer converted.

Dewsbury recovered with a fine try from Gareth Pratt but the visitors established

But the powerful forward McCarrie forced his way over twice with Eaton replying with a penalty and, as Dewsbury tired in the closing stages, Peckey completed his hat-trick.

Alene absent

FRANCOIS DOUMEN will not run Val d'Alene in the Tote Cheltenham Gold Cup or the Martell Grand National...

His assistant, Ian Williams, said yesterday: "Val d'Alene had a long hard season in France before running in England this winter and deserves a rest now."

Blinkered today for the first time: FONTWELL: 4.00 Long Reach: 4.30 Zhu Jiang. SOUTHWELL: 3.50 Built For Comfort. 3.50 Moody.

Table with horse names and race details for Fontwell.

Table with horse names and race details for Southwell.

Fontwell

Table listing horse racing results for Fontwell, including race numbers, horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Musselburgh

Table listing horse racing results for Musselburgh, including race numbers, horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

Southwell (A.W. Flat)

Table listing horse racing results for Southwell (A.W. Flat), including race numbers, horse names, jockeys, and finishing positions.

RACELINE FULL RESULTS SERVICE 0891 168 1138. Includes Fontwell, Musselburgh, and Southwell results.

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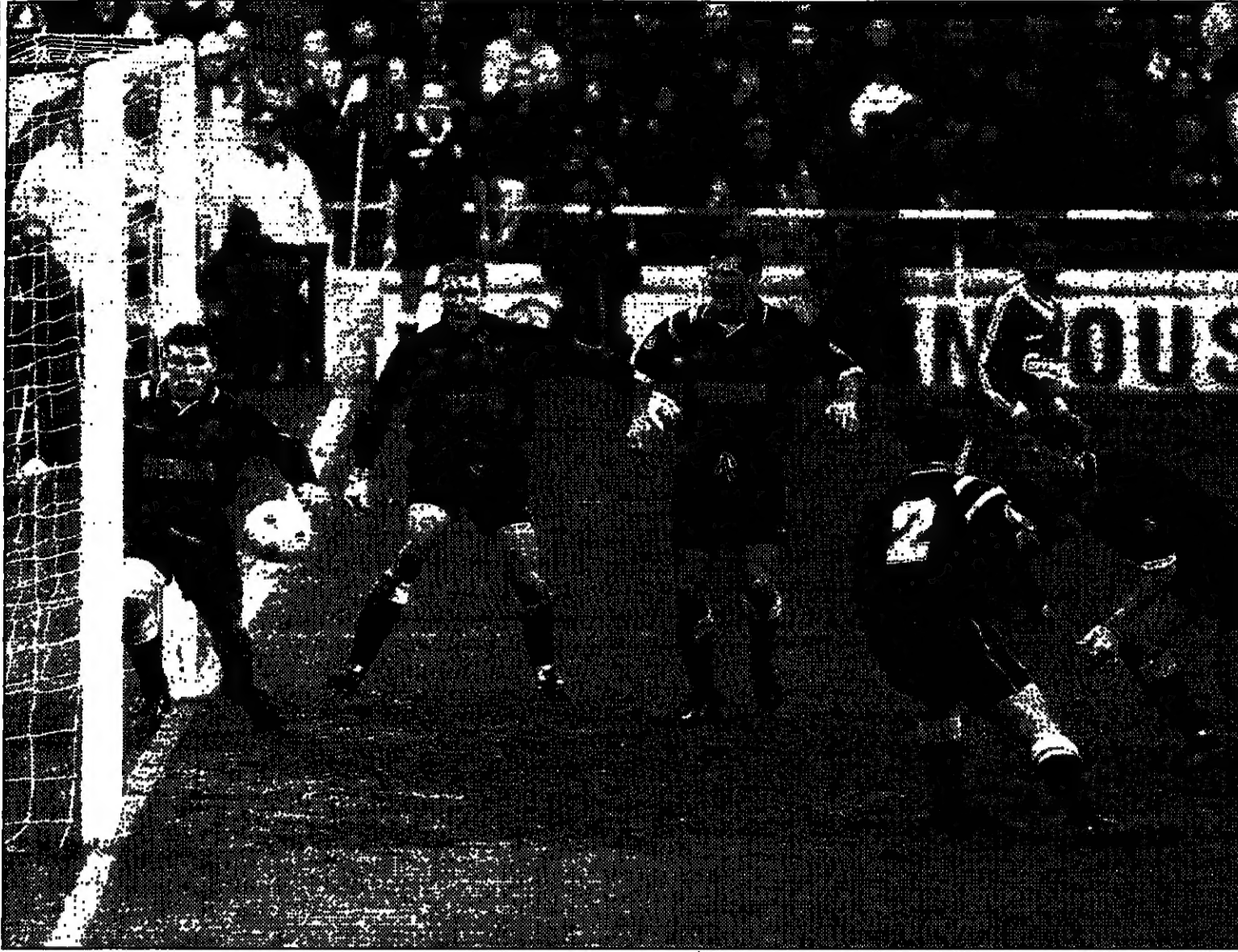
FA CUP SOCCER

Fourth round: Shrewsbury Town 0, Liverpool 4

Rapid Reds skin tame Shrews

Stephen Bierley

AN HOUR after this match, and just around the corner from Gay Meadow, a memorial service was held in Shrewsbury Abbey yesterday afternoon for Edith Fargher, better known as the 'Queen of the Shrews', chronicler of the club's sad-fate medieval whodunnits.



Home discomfort... Walton of Shrewsbury, far right, bows to his fate as he puts into his own net for Liverpool's second goal

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BAYON

Shrewsbury had managed just one inconsequential attack. Anthrobus heading wide from a cross by Woods, when Fowler and McManaman colluded for Collymore to strike across Edwards and in.

Walton forced corners throughout; not once did Anthrobus threaten and, other than these set-pieces, no real chance came his way. Collymore's early goal effectively killed the game off, leaving home fans and neutrals alike yearning for a flash of fire, a bit of old-fashioned cup excitement.

Walton's mortification was heightened horribly five minutes later when, with Fowler in close attention, the defender lost control and allowed the Liverpool striker an unimpeded path to goal.

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Fifth round Huddersfield 2, Wimbledon 2

Kinnear's men seize moment

Commentary

David Lacey

BUDDERSFORD is not what it was. For Priestley's grey-green tide of cloth caps disgorging from mountainous terraces read an orderly stream of tall lights flowing gently from a Wellies stadium which looks as if it might head back to Mars at any moment.

find themselves back at Huddersfield in the Endleigh League the next time round. But not if they continue to respond to adversity with a readiness to attack on a broad, if ingenious, front.

As a game of football this tie was less than distinguished. Priestley would have found art only in the singular outlines of concrete and steel which have been woven into the Yorkshire landscape, while the conflict was often a matter of blunt swords and dud shells.

Neither team defended with much competence. Huddersfield lacked height at the back and while Francis, their goalkeeper, made up with blind courage for what he lacked in judgment, it was precisely this blind courage which led to Wimbledon's late equaliser.

If Wimbledon are relegated it will be because of the sort of errors in defence Huddersfield punished with alacrity. The first after seven minutes, saw Rowe accept a free kick from Makiel and turn away from Perry before scoring with an unexceptional shot which still slipped underneath Sullivan.

Throughout the match the principal difference between the sides lay in the quality of Wimbledon's centres. But for Kinnear's decision to use Hartford, still one of the best bargains in the Premiership, in a withdrawn position on the right Huddersfield's fate might have been settled in the opening half-hour.

As it was the 64th-minute replacement of Holdsworth with Clarke immediately threw Wimbledon a lifeline. When Clarke headed in the latter's cross in the 65th, a second header from Elkon, after Francis had flailed wildly and vainly at Kinnear's corner, brought Huddersfield to unlovely Selhurst Park.

Before then Horton's play-acting has been a game against Charlton and Crystal Palace which will have a strong bearing on their chances of promotion, or at least a place in the play-offs.

To be brutally frank, however, Huddersfield's stadium would add more distinction to the Premiership next season than their present team, which is good at this level but would surely be afflicted by vertigo if they went up.

Joe Kinnear's team are having a difficult season in the Premiership and may yet

Fifth round: Swindon 1, Southampton 1

Hard-hearted Saints full of romantic notions

Russell Thomas

THE LATEST demonstration of the Saints surviving while living dangerously swelled the belief along the South Coast that Southampton can make real waves in the FA Cup.

erful presence. On top of that the team currently has a hard-to-beat tag. But they are not a side geared to conquering swiftly and in style, especially with Matthew Le Tissier remaining a peripheral figure. His contribution against Swindon was flattered by Match of the Day's TV highlights, even if it was his curling corner that provided the opportunity which was deftly headed home by the persevering Gordon Watson.

McMenamy declared that in this tie and two contests with Crews Southampton had captured the romance and excitement of the FA Cup. Yet the conflict at the County Ground rarely caught fire, suggesting both clubs' ambitions burn elsewhere: Swindon's to regain First Division status, Southampton's to avoid precisely that.

That is not being unambitious, just realistic, according to McMenamy. "We are very much the poor relations in the Premiership," he said. "The sheer quality of Swindon's goal, however, supported his view, even if it was from their only meaningful first-half attack. A rippling movement culminated in Thorne supplying Horlock, who delivered a calm shot beyond Beasant's right hand."

McMahon overlooked Southampton's dominance for long periods. "I didn't see that gulf between the Second Division and Premiership," he said. "The sheer quality of Swindon's goal, however, supported his view, even if it was from their only meaningful first-half attack. A rippling movement culminated in Thorne supplying Horlock, who delivered a calm shot beyond Beasant's right hand."

to test McMenamy's view that "there's been no better goalkeeper in the Premiership over the last three months". Digby's defiance was finally overcome when beaten high inside his left-hand post by Watson's headed flick.

Premiership: Middlesbrough 1, Bolton Wanderers 4

Rotten Boro lose Robson the Riverside vote

Cynthia Bateman

THERE were 29,354 in the Riverside Stadium at the kick-off. By the end the place looked deserted with barely a quarter of the crowd left, and a good proportion of those were happy Wanderers' fans. Twenty minutes before the final whistle, Middlesbrough supporters began

voting with their feet as Bryan Robson's side were humiliated in a flimsy match with eight players booked. "Relegation has not crossed my mind," said Robson after his side had lost to the bottom club. It was Boro's eighth consecutive league defeat, equalling an 11-year-old club record.

in on the rebound for his first goal in nine appearances since his £1.5 million move from Sheffield United. Middlesbrough were unfortunate not to equalise when Forjort's deft heel beat the goalkeeper, but was scuffed off the line by Green. Encouraged, Boro attacked and Pollock played a one-two with Forjort and took the return past Swannagan for his first goal of the season.

as score Bolton's third just after the hour. Robson sent on two attackers, Hendrie and Moore, for Whelan and O'Halloran, only to see Bolton instantly exploit the gaps. Lee, with a superb left-foot shot, scored Bolton's fourth.

Tommy Burns, the Celtic manager, could mount another rescue operation by taking the Hearts striker John Robertson to Parkhead. Burns has already proved a powerful restorative in play-offs such as Tosh McKinlay and John Hughes, signed for moderate fees from Hearts and Falkirk respectively, and now making valuable contributions to a team challenging for league and Cup.

Are you gambling with your future? MARCH ISSUE ON SALE NOW

Advertisement for 'Men's Health' magazine featuring a man's face and text: 'Stay lucky 20 foods that fight disease'.

Sheffield Wednesday 1, Queens Park Rangers 3

Barker gives Rangers something to bite on

Ian Ross

AND SO, at the precise moment Rangers stood condemned by their own ineptitude, a light flickers into life at the end of the tunnel. Even if a deserved victory, which halted a sequence of seven straight League defeats, should prove nothing more than a diversion, hope has been partially renewed.

in Shepherds Bush. It is to be cast aside this summer. "They aren't going to offer me a new contract so all I can try and do is make sure I leave the club in the Premiership," he said. "We have got to be looking to win eight of our last 11 matches."

clear, a player who may also start next season in different colours. Having pulled his side level with a thumping header from Quashie's cross from the left, Barker provided the afternoon's abiding memory with a Wilkins-like gem of a chip in the second half.

Burns seeks Hearts fire

Patrick Glenn

TOMMY BURNS, the Celtic manager, could mount another rescue operation by taking the Hearts striker John Robertson to Parkhead. Burns has already proved a powerful restorative in play-offs such as Tosh McKinlay and John Hughes, signed for moderate fees from Hearts and Falkirk respectively, and now making valuable contributions to a team challenging for league and Cup.

Robertson, 31, would probably cost Burns less than £500,000. The former Scotland player is out of favour at Hearts and was a substitute in their Scottish Cup tie at Kilmarnock on Saturday.

He is also immensely versatile. Against Chelsea, Dicks slotted in alongside Rieper and Bilic in a revamped central defence, pinged the ball around with drop-head accuracy and then pressed forward to score West Ham's equaliser, outpunching two defenders to head Dani's corner past Hitchcock.

Premiership: Chelsea 1, West Ham 2

Hammers hail the slimmer, fitter, aggro-free Dicks

Neil Robinson

IT always comes as a surprise to interview Julian Dicks, whose Bristol burr sounds ill-suited to an AIF Garnet garnet. Surely real men drop their accents.

But there has always been more to Dicks than meets the ear and this season it is not only his vowels which have been clipped. He has now gone nine games without a yellow card and even the tabloids have stopped referring to him in Psycho-babble.

Harry Redknapp claims part of the credit by imploring Dicks not to get himself booked before the start of every game and the player has responded by curbing his militant tendencies.

On Saturday he was mercilessly booed - as he is at most away grounds - and yet he kept perfect composure even when clattered by Gullit.

"There were people in the club who had written him off and didn't want him back," said Redknapp, who sold him to and then bought him from Liverpool. "He had a bad knee injury and the specialist said it could go any time, but he never misses a day's training and is always first one out there. He's a changed boy, a lot fitter, slimmer and no aggro."

He is also immensely versatile. Against Chelsea, Dicks slotted in alongside Rieper and Bilic in a revamped central defence, pinged the ball around with drop-head accuracy and then pressed forward to score West Ham's equaliser, outpunching two defenders to head Dani's corner past Hitchcock.

Ireland gripped by new crisis

THE Republic of Ireland, who have yet to finalise the details of Mick McCarthy's succession to Jack Charlton, were thrown into further turmoil over the weekend as Sean Connolly, the Football Association of Ireland's chief executive, resigned, writes Cynthia Bateman.

Connolly, 47, who had been with the FAI for five years, is the latest casualty in a shake-up at Merrion Square following Charlton's forced resignation. The FAI's president Louis Killoyne and his executive officers are already at loggerheads with McCarthy over their refusal to allow him to name Ian Evans, his former assistant, as his No. 2 and have yet to name a manager for the Under-21s to replace Maurice Scahill, who is in dispute with them over a compensation claim.

Villa pass through third goal... Spurs look to... extend results... Ireland gripped by new crisis... following Charlton's forced resignation...

FA CUP SOCCER

Fifth round: Ipswich 1, Aston Villa 3

Villa pass through in third gear

AT THE start of the season it would have been surprising if Aston Villa were to reach Wembley. Now it would be a surprise if they do not. On Saturday night there was the only name in the sixth-round draw of the Cup after a dizzying four days in which they also put themselves in pole position to win Wednesday's Coca-Cola Cup semi-final following that first-leg draw at Arsenal.

The measure of a good side is not just being able to defeat your peers, but your subordinates too. Although Ipswich seemed to offer the classic Cup banana-skin, Villa stepped over it imperiously. So thorough was Villa's canter it reinforced the growing view that here is a team on the verge of becoming the best to wear the claret and blue since Ron Saunders' colourful title winners of 1981.

Spurs look to Cup veterans

DAVID Howells could return to bolster Tottenham hopes in tonight's FA Cup fifth-round game at Nottingham Forest.

The 26-year-old midfielder — one of only two survivors from the Spurs team that beat Forest to lift the Cup in 1991 — has missed the last 11

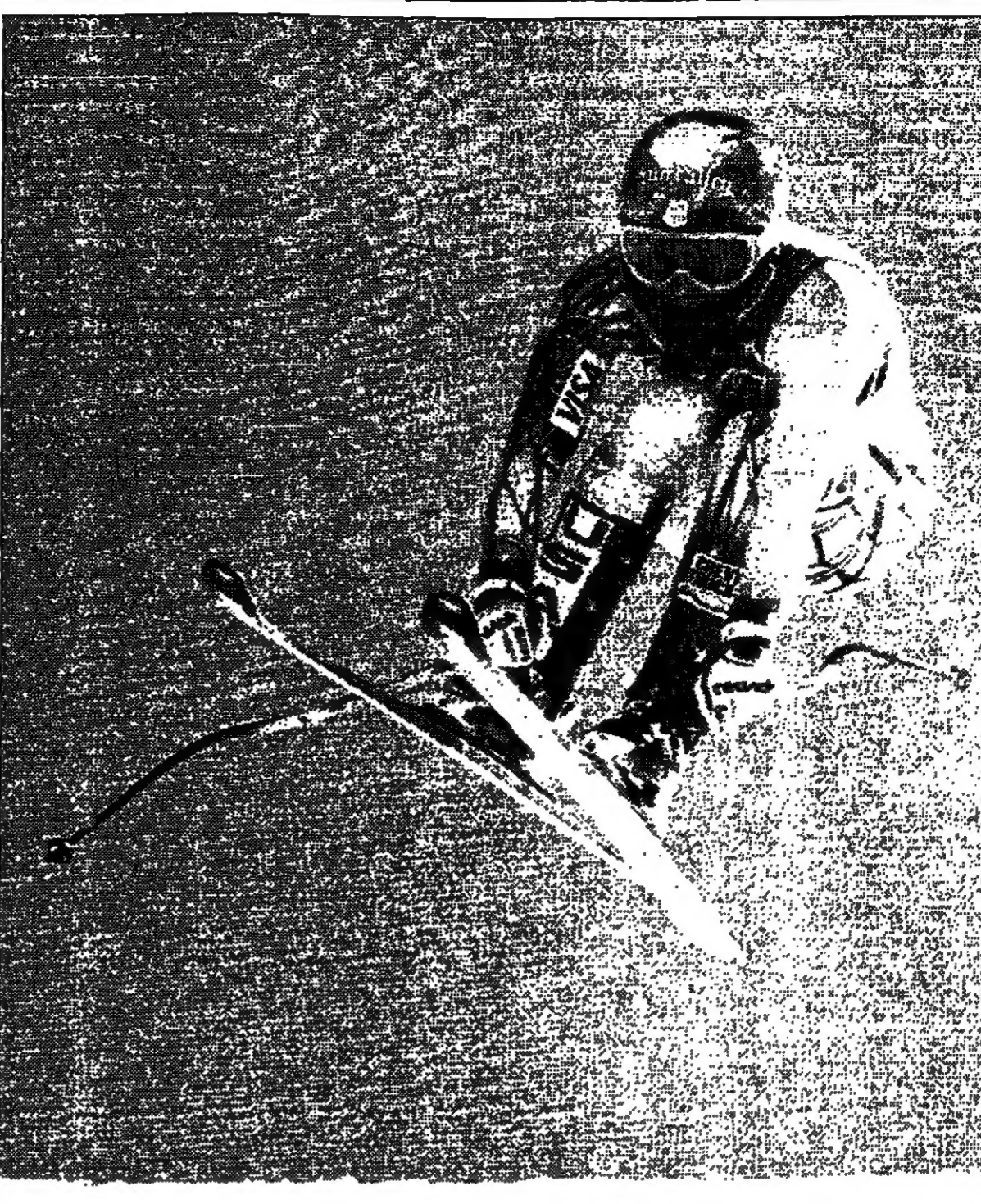
Skiing

World

Street beaten by a Street

John Samuel in Sierra Nevada sees the American woman reign in Spain

MANY Americans think the Sierra Nevada mountains are in the United States. Maybe from today they will think again after Picabo Street skied down the Veleta course in the Spanish mountains yesterday, her speed touching 80mph, to win the women's downhill in the world championships here.



Street's ahead... Picabo Street on her way to securing the women's downhill gold yesterday

sport. "I know there are hidden personalities in female skiers which have yet to blossom. I'd like to make that happen too," she said.

Street was not brought up to be conventional. Her parents might be described as travellers, even hippies, never afraid to trot the children round bandit-ridden countryside. Stubby and Dee Street, her parents, needed to christen their three-year-old for a trip to Mexico, and Stubby liked the name Picabo, which means "Shining Light" in the tongue of the native American tribe who lived in that part of Idaho.

When Street was three she had discovered a racer's body, as many clichés about Americans are celebrated the giant Östlie's success at the Austria House on Saturday but still had energy for a slanging match with the Spaniards over the course and its preparation.

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Chess

A black end for 'Blue'

Leonard Barden

COMPUTERS may be unemotional but IBM's Deep Blue was giving a pretty good imitation of being psyched out after Garry Kasparov scored crushing victories in the final two games of their \$200,000 match in Philadelphia. The 32-year-old world champion won the series 4-2, with three wins and two draws to offset the machine's historic victory in game one.

Deep Blue went into its tailspin after Kasparov offered a draw at move 23 in their fifth game. The machine was not programmed to respond and after its operators declined the proposal "in the interests of science", it made a series of weak moves and was soon a bishop down.

The final game was Kasparov's last. He did not expect the match's worst. It violated an old chess maxim 'knight on the rim, future dim' and Kasparov gained a strategic stranglehold where the computer's army was holed up in a corner. Kasparov's Russian programmers resigned when the Russian was poised either for an early checkmate attack or for a decisive queen exchange.

Later Kasparov admitted: "I did not expect the match would be so tough. I was lucky to lose game one, otherwise disaster could have struck later. I was playing an artificial intellect that makes billions of calculations to find what I do, just by feeling right or wrong."

The match, arranged as part of the celebrations of 50 years of computers, was the first contest between brain cells and silicon chips at classical chess speed, following a series of computer successes at speed chess. Kasparov compared his final victory to 1985 when he won the world title from Anatoly Karpov, and offered IBM a rematch. However, he gave Deep Blue's overall performance a mixed review. "It can play great chess, but also on a very low level," he said.

Weekend results

Soccer

Table showing FA Cup Fourth round results: Chelsea 3, Liverpool 0, Manchester City 2, etc.

Ice Hockey

Table showing NHL game results: Boston 4, New York 1, etc.

Baseball

Table showing MLB game results: Boston 5, New York 1, etc.

Cricket

Table showing Test match results: England 206, West Indies 150, etc.

Football

Table showing various football league results.

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Athletics

Christie off the record

LINFOR CHRISTIE'S winner of discontent continued in Lievin yesterday. With doubt cast on his honesty by Donovan Bailey and now injured and out of racing, he was deprived of his 200 metres world indoor record when Frankie Fredericks broke it in the same French stadium where Christie had set his last year.

Snooker

CHRISTIE had set the record after receiving tips from Fredericks who was paid back with interest this year. "I'm very happy to set this world record," said Fredericks, who received a \$25,000 (£16,000) bonus. "The only disappointment was that Linford wasn't able to be here."

Fixtures

Table listing upcoming sports fixtures across various leagues and events.

Rugby Union

Representative matches: Edinburgh 19-15 Northampton (15-19), etc.

SportsGuardian

SOCCER: FA CUP

Fifth round: Manchester United 2, Manchester City 1

Penalty leaves Ball seething

David Lacey

MANCHESTER United by a neck. Their progress to a third successive FA Cup final is starting to look inexorable if not inevitable. Yesterday fate first helped them to beat Manchester City with the aid of a harshly judged penalty, and then gave them with a highly winnable quarter-final at home to Southampton or Swindon.

Should United go on to win the Cup twice in three seasons, and a record ninth time in all, the sky blue half of Manchester will no doubt be hoping that their celebratory toasts are coupled with the name of Alan Wilkie. City supporters will always argue that the Chester-le-Street referee turned this tie with the penalty decision that enabled United to draw level shortly before half-time after they had fallen behind to an early goal from Rieker.

That would be putting it too simply, for United were beginning to get a grip on the play before that moment and would in all probability have dominated the second half in the way they did even if the penalty had not happened. Butt was outstanding in midfield, and the growing influence on the flanks of Sharpe and Phillip Neville ultimately proved decisive.

There can, however, be little doubt that luck smiled on United at a crucial moment. In the 38th minute, following a corner on the left from Giggs, Keane's header was cleared off the line by a combination of Lomas and Brown. Another corner followed, and then the penalty.

This time Giggs swung the ball across too hard and high for anyone in the goalmouth to reach it. Frontzack and Cantona jumped together as a matter of routine but made only brief contact with one another. In the next instant, however, Wilkie was pointing to the penalty spot. Both teams appeared baffled, Old Trafford could not believe its good fortune, and Cantona sent himself the wrong way with his kick.

"Eric said he was pulled round the neck," said Alex Ferguson, the United manager. "It's always a risk if you pull players around the neck." In fact Wilkie gave this as the reason for his decision. Naturally, being Alan Ball, the last manager was rather more laudacious on the subject. "Would he have given it at the other end?" he asked. "No." Exactly.

"There's always a bit of pushing around and jostling at corners. That decision



Shirt shrift... United's Nicky Butt holds off City's Keith Curle in a Manchester showdown that hinged on a dubious penalty decision yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

changed the game. We'd passed the ball around and taken the lead. The home crowd had gone quiet."

As an assessment of the opening half-hour this was accurate enough. United were unable to get to grips with City's close-passing game and whenever Kinkladze gained possession generous avenues of space opened up in the approaches to goal.

During this period Bruce and Pallister looked vulnerable in United's defence. Keane and Butt, moreover, were being upstaged in midfield by Lomas and Brown while Clough's little passes kept City's rhythm consistent.

After 11 minutes City went ahead with goal cleverly conceived and executed. Kinkladze turned with the ball and in the same movement

released it low through a square United defence. Rieker bore down on the advancing Schmeichel and then chipped him from just inside the penalty area. The goalkeeper managed to get a hand to the ball, but could not keep it out.

Midway through the first half Ferguson switched his wings, a crucial move for Sharpe and Giggs made better headway on opposite flanks. City were still worrying United with the accuracy of their passing but were steadily ceding territory and possession before the penalty.

The second half saw much less of Kinkladze and practically nothing of Clough. United, moreover, played with the patience of a team who suspected the afternoon would eventually be theirs. With 13 minutes remaining,

Pallister found Giggs on the left and he released Neville for the low centre that Sharpe turned smartly into the net. "No complaints about the second half," said Ball. "It was a great goal that beat us."

Wilkie booked four United and two City players, with half the yellow cards being flourished after an early scrum. He was the referee whose dismissal of Cantona at Crystal Palace preceded the Frenchman's kung-fu activities. Cantona may now have a softer spot for Chester-le-Street than he did.

Wembley beckons Ferguson

Russell Thomas

ALLEX FERGUSON was last night peering optimistically towards the fourth FA Cup final of his Old Trafford career as Manchester United bypassed other Premiership heavyweights in the sixth-round draw.

A home quarter-final with Southampton, destroyed 4-1 in quickfire fashion at Old Trafford in November, or Steve McMahon's Second Division winners Swindon saw United, winners in 1990 and 1994 before falling at Wembley last year, immediately take over as the bookmakers'

FA CUP SIXTH ROUND DRAW

Leeds United or Port Vale v Liverpool or Charlton
Nottingham Forest or Tottenham or Aston Villa
Manchester United v Swindon or Southampton
Grimsby or Chelsea v Huddersfield or Wimbledon
(Matches to be played on March 8, 10, 11)

9-4 favourites for the trophy.

Liverpool could enter a classic northern confrontation with Leeds at Elland Road encouraged by their 5-0 Anfield battering of Howard Wilkinson's team last month. But first these Premiership rivals must host victories over First Division opposition.

Aston Villa's consolation from yet another away draw is the prospect of extending their hoodoo over Tottenham — provided Spurs first overcome Nottingham Forest.

Stamford Bridge will host a London derby if Chelsea see off Grimsby and Wimbledon finish the dramatic business with Huddersfield.

Irish prop banned for stamp

Jan Northwick in Paris and Karl Johnston in Dublin

THE international career of Ireland's prop Peter Clohessey may be over following his ban yesterday for stamping on the head of France's lock Olivier Roumat during Saturday's catastrophic 48-10 defeat in Paris.

Clohessey's second international suspension is for 28 playing weeks. He will miss not only Ireland's final two games of the current Five Nations Championship but the remainder of the international year.

Five minutes into the second half at the Parc des Princes, Clohessey stamped on Roumat's head as the Frenchman lay on the ground. Although missed by the referee Ed Morrison and the two touch-judges, it was clearly visible on French television's reverse-angle camera, and it was only after the match supervisor Alan Hosie of Scotland had viewed the video evidence that a decision was reached.

Clohessey, suspended for 10 weeks for foul play in 1993, also kicked the France hooker Jean-Michel Gonzalez from behind. In both cases the French forwards had to leave the field.

As Irish tempers frayed, the France prop Christian Calmano was also felled by a kick in the face from what appeared to be Gabriel Faulkner's left boot. Calmano was forced to leave the field with broken teeth, a split mouth, and a suspected broken jaw.

The 29-year-old Clohessey, who denies the incidents were intentional, became Limerick's most-capped player when he played his 15th international against Scotland last month. But the Young Munster player has become infamous outside Limerick. In 1990 he was penalised when playing for Munster against Ulster for making what the referee later said were "remarks of a sectarian nature", believed to have been derogatory comments about Willie Anderson's religious and political leanings.

Two years later he was at the centre of a major controversy when he was called "a disgrace" by the then Australian coach Bob Dwyer after Munster defeated the Wallabies in Cork.

Match report, page 12

England eye Watkinson

Mike Selvey in Peshawar on how an injury to Craig White overshadowed England's first victory in cricket's World Cup

ENGLAND look set to summon Lancashire's Mike Watkinson as a World Cup replacement for Craig White, who suffered a side strain in yesterday's eight-wicket win over the United Arab Emirates in Peshawar and will miss the rest of the tournament.

Ray Illingworth was last night granted permission by the organisers to call up a member of the 18-man squad which contested the recent one-day series in South Africa. "We haven't made any decisions yet," said Illingworth yesterday.

Many believe that Dermot Reeve, who was also discarded after the South Africa series, would be a more logical choice. However, the Warwickshire captain has never been top of Michael Atherton's Christmas card list and a newspaper outburst

following his bit part in South Africa did him few favours. England should prepare for more of the same if he is again overlooked.

White's absence is a big blow. He was selected to fulfil a crucial role but bowled only nine deliveries yesterday before leaving the field with intercostal damage to the ribs on his left side — a repeat of the injury that cut short his Ashes tour last winter.

"It's the same old story," he said. "I was just starting to play well and get some confidence. Most fast bowlers have had this sort of injury but mine seems to come when I'm in the limelight." The injury is expected to take at least four weeks to heal and he will return home shortly.

After the poor showing in the first match against New Zealand, England needed to win yesterday with the sort of spirited performance that

would help retrieve credibility and confidence. Although eight wickets is emphatic enough, the opposition were merely of club standard and it lacked real conviction.

A paltry crowd — surprising given a public holiday and the large Pakistani representation in the Emirates team — were given bland, uninspiring fare. Although the UAE powered through the ICC Trophy, they were never up to yesterday's contest once a slow pitch and tight bowling dismissed them for 136.

Only Mazhar Hussain, who made 33 with panache and extravagant use of the bottom hand, and Samarasekera, last out for 28, offered more than cursory resistance to the early accuracy of Phil DeFreitas and subsequently Neil Smith. His off-spin brought him three wickets for no runs and three for 29 in all.

On the debit side England's

fielding requires more than mere fine tuning and two difficult chances spilled yesterday took their toll to six from two matches.

More competent sides would have approached the target at a gallop. But England are a shaky outfit at present and lacked the services of Graeme Hick and Robin Smith, who possess the power game to have shrouded such bowling.

An opening stand of 53 between Neil Smith and Alec Stewart provided good groundwork but the vice-captain lazily clipped a simple catch to short mid-wicket and Smith, deemed Man of the Match on his World Cup debut, regurgitated a pizza on to the field and retired ill.

Atherton, down the order to lend solidity and split the left-handers Graham Thorpe and Neil Fairbrother, confirmed his own lack of form with 20 runs scratched from 40 deliveries before he drove round an innocuous off-spinner.

It was left to Thorpe, who hit an unbeaten 44 and Fair-

Guardian Crossword No 20,579

Set by Crispa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

Across
1 Swindle vulnerable rival (8)
6 Quarrel — but not very much (5)
9 Aristocrats put money into audio equipment (5)
10 Note a point to consider and he'll find an answer (8)
11 Control said to be restored (10)
12 Nothing like (4)
14 Little beast given rum tuck — really rum! (7)
15 A goddess following a trial with a will (7)
17 Protest when dunderhead is told to go (7)
19 Liberal arrangement to assist the blind (7)
20 Duplicated in this way the results not at all good (2-2)
22 Joke if left among the rustics (10)

Down
1 Key role in a Shakespearean play, that's plain (5)
2 His image meant everything to him — such a bloomer! (9)
3 Living in comfort, yet terse as can be (4, 6)
4 Hibernating insects — about a thousand altogether (7)
5 A feature for which there's high regard (7)
6 The best mounted notice (4)
7 Sound form of entertainment (5)
8 French family-man accepting cut to keep going (9)

Solution tomorrow
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The Republicans are stuck with a field of candidates who range from the drab to the weird to the terrifying. They are locked in a vicious civil war, in a campaign marked by the most negative advertising in memory.

Page 4

Handwritten text in Arabic script.